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## ORIGINAL CONTRIBUTIONS

### THE GREEK WINDS.

IN the orientation of the Greek Winds—that is to say, in the interpretation of the Greek 'wind-rose,' or compass-card—there lies a pretty problem, which to my thinking is but little understood by scholars. The subject has been touched on of late by Sir Arthur Hort in his translation of Theophrastus *De Signis*, and by Mr. E. S. Forster in his Oxford translation of the Ps. Aristotelian *Ventorum Situs et Appellationes*. Both writers borrow their statements and their diagrams from W. Capelle's paper on the treatise *De Mundo* ('Die Schrift von der Welt,' *Neue Jahrb.* xv. 1905), as Capelle in turn had followed for the most part in the steps of Kaibel ('Antike Windrosen,' *Hermes*, xx. pp. 579-624, 1885). Our scholars, in short, have followed the Germans, and these Germans (as I hope to show) are wrong.

The wind-rose of the Greeks, as interpreted by Kaibel and Capelle and copied by Forster and Hort, is unsymmetrical, or has at best a curiously imperfect symmetry (Fig. 1). It shows us (1) the four cardinal winds, N., S., E., and W.; (2) next, and midway in the four quadrants, the N.E., S.E., S.W., and N.W. winds; and, lastly (3), four more winds intercalated midway in the two northern and two southern octants, so that the whole circle is divided into twelve sectors, of which four are large and eight are small, the eight small ones being each just one-half the size of the other four. In other words, our circle of  $360^\circ$  is divided into four sectors of  $45^\circ$ , and eight sectors of  $22\frac{1}{2}^\circ$  each. The main point is that the four winds

Caecias, Eurus, Lips, and Argestes (Z, Δ, Γ, Ε) are (on this interpretation) set midway between the four cardinal

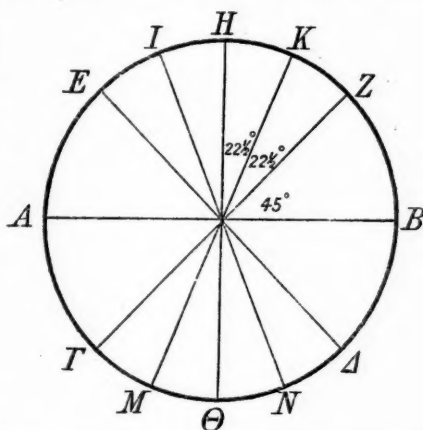


FIG. 1.—Capelle and Kaibel's interpretation of the Aristotelian wind-rose.

winds. They are described as N.E., S.E., S.W., and N.W. winds respectively; and they are so defined in Liddell and Scott, with no manner of doubt or hesitation.

Now Aristotle's account, as set forth for instance in the *Meteorologica* (2, vi. 363a), is very different from this; moreover it is very plain and simple,<sup>1</sup> and all the more so if we be careful to read and interpret it in the light of Aris-

<sup>1</sup> Save only for a textual difficulty in a single sentence (364a 13), pointed out by Salmasius and by Ideler. Ideler's restoration of the text (Arist. *Meteor.* 1834, vol. i., p. 576) was subsequently rediscovered by Mr. F. H. Fobes, in *C.R.* 1916, p. 48.]

totle's repeated statements that the winds are dependent on the sun (cf. e.g. *op. cit.* 2, v. 361b, ὁ δ' ἥλιος καὶ παύει καὶ συνεξορμᾷ τὰ πνεύματα).

He bids us construct our compass-card as follows (Figs. 2, 3): Let A be the

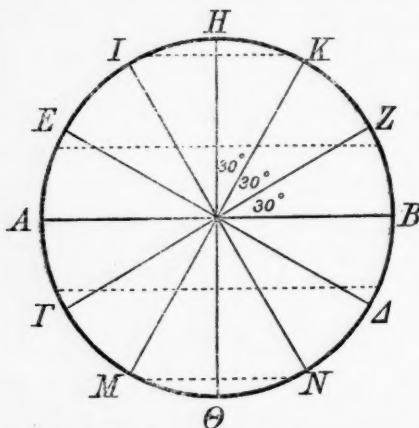


FIG. 2.—The Aristotelian division of the compass-card; showing sunset and sunrise at the equinox (A, B); also at the winter solstice (Γ, Δ), and at the summer solstice (E, Z), as seen (approximately) from the latitude of Athens. (The dotted lines represent the tropic and arctic circles).

place of sunset, and B of sunrise, at the equinox, the *δυση* καὶ *ἀνατολή* ἰσημερινῇ, when the sun rises and sets due E. and W. (in accordance with the very definition of these terms); here we have what Milton, and the Italians, call 'the Levant and the Ponent winds.' A diameter HΘ, cutting AB at right angles, then gives due north and due south; and our four cardinal points are thus determined. The next step is the remarkable one: [ἔστω] τὸ δ' ἐφ' οὗ Z ἀνατολή θερινή, τὸ δ' ἐφ' οὗ E δυση θερινή· τὸ δ' ἐφ' οὗ Δ ἀνατολή χειμερινή, τὸ δ' ἐφ' οὗ Γ δυση χειμερινή. The eight winds, blowing from these eight points, are as follows: A, ζέφυρος· B, ἀπηλιώτης· Γ, λίψ· Δ, εὐρος· E, ἀργέστης (ὄλυμπας, σκίρων, ἰάψυξ in the *De Mundo*)· Z, καικίας· H, βορέας or ἀπαρκτίας· Θ, νότος.

The third and last step consists in subdividing four of these eight sectors, viz. the two northern and the two southern ones (i.e. the sectors HE, HZ,

ΘΓ, ΘΔ), so as to give four new points, I, K, M, N. Only, according to the account in the *Meteorologica*, while the winds θρασκίας and μέσης are hereby defined as blowing from I and K respectively, it so happens that opposite to these (viz. at M and N), no winds actually occur, or none at least are conspicuous in Nature. As to the original eight, they go in pairs, diametrically opposite: οὗτοι μὲν οὖν οἱ κατὰ διάμετρον τε κείμενοι ἄνεμοι, καὶ οἷς εἰσὶν ἐναντίοι. The rest have no antagonists—no winds diametrically opposite to them—ἑτεροὶ δ' εἰσὶ καθ' οὓς οὐκ ἔστιν ἐναντία πνεύματα. And these are, as we have already said, Thrascias and Meses: ἀπὸ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ I, ὃν καλοῦσι θρασκίαν, οὗτος γὰρ μέσος ἀργέστου καὶ ἀπαρκτίου· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ K, ὃν καλοῦσι μέσην, οὗτος γὰρ μέσος καικίου καὶ ἀπαρκτίου· ἐναντία δὲ τούτοις οὐκ ἔστι τοῖς πνεύμασιν, οὔτε τῷ θρασκία οὔτε τῷ μέση. But, after all, Aristotle immediately proceeds to qualify this statement, and to suggest that, at the point N., opposite to Thrascias, there may be found a certain wind, Phoenicias (Euronotus in Theophrastus and the *De Mundo*): εἰ μὴ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπ' ὀλίγον πνεῖ τις ἄνεμος, ὃν καλοῦσιν οἱ περὶ τὸν τόπον ἐκείνον φοινικίαν. We must go to other writers (including the author of the *De Mundo* and the *Ventorum Situs*) for the denom-

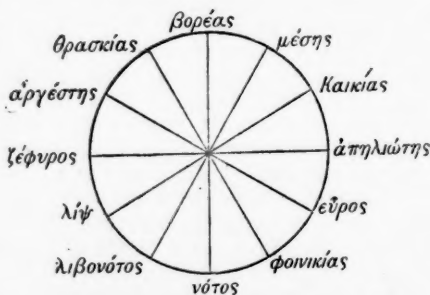


FIG. 3.—The Aristotelian wind-rose, according to the construction shown in Fig. 2. (The wind λιβονότος is interpolated from Theophrastus).

ination of the missing twelfth wind, opposite to Meses—the wind termed Libonotus in the *De Mundo* by Theophrastus, by Pliny and by Lydus (*De*

*Menss.* c. 3), and Leuconotus by the author of the *Ventorum Situs*, by Posidonius (Strabo, i, p. 29), and by Seneca.

In all this not a single word is said about dividing the four quadrants into *halves*, and so fixing the positions of N.E. and S.E., N.W. and S.W. winds; but, on the contrary, there is a clear and unmistakable injunction that the places of the four secondary winds are to be determined, like those of the cardinal winds, by a certain direct, if more complicated, reference to the sun. Obvious as this point is, there are few writers who appear to have noticed it. One is the learned Ideler; another is H. C. Genelli, who wrote (not without help from Ideler) a very good paper, 'Ueber die Windscheiben der Alten,' in F. A. Wolf's *Analecta* (ii, pp. 461-500, 1820); a third is Mr. James G. Wood, author of a too much neglected translation of the Theophrastean *De Signis* and *De Ventis* (London: Stanford, 1894). Part of my object, indeed, in writing this note is to recall attention to Wood's work, which has fallen into such complete oblivion that Sir Arthur Hort has translated the *De Signis* over again, unaware that Wood had done it all before, and had done it uncommonly well. But we shall come back in a little while to these scholars.

Another man of learning whose contribution must not be overlooked is Coray. In his French translation of Hippocrates *περὶ ἀέρων κ.τ.λ.* (Paris, 1800, *Discours prélim.* pp. lxxviii-lxxxiii), he gives a good account of the winds, and adds to it a still more admirable table, showing the various classifications of the winds and divisions of the compass from Homer to the moderns. He does not say a word about the solar, or astronomical, definitions of the winds; he merely indicates in his text (p. lxix) that to the four cardinal winds 'on ajouta dans la suite quatre autres, qui sont le *καυκίας*, Nord-est; l'*εἰδρος*, Sud-est,' etc.; and that 'Aristote ajoute à cette rose trois autres vents, qui sont le *μείρης*, placé entre le Nord-est,' etc. And then, without any further explanation, he seems to take it for granted that, once the wind-rose of twelve winds was established, these twelve winds would take equal shares in the division

of the compass-card, and so he represents them in his table and diagram. That is to say, in his final reference to the modern compass-card of thirty-two points, or thirty-two 'winds,' he says that 'la plupart des vents de cette rose ont dû être divisés par fractions, pour correspondre aux roses anciennes, et principalement à celle de douze vents, dont chacun ne pouvoit comprendre que deux vents et quatre-sixièmes de vent de la rose moderne (*i.e.*  $32 \div 2\frac{2}{3} = 12$ ). He gives them their places, accordingly, in a compass-card of *equal* and symmetrical interspaces or sectors. In much the same way Salmasius had arranged the twelve winds in a regular dodecagon, though, like Coray, he also had missed the essential point (which we are now about to discuss) of the ἀνατολή θερινή as defining the place of *καυκίας*. But Salmasius' learned treatise on the Winds (*Exercitatio Pliniana*, pp. 1244-1253) is more than we can do justice to here. To return to Aristotle:

When Aristotle tells us that a certain wind blows from the ἀνατολή θερινή or χειμερινή, we may safely take it that he means the *midsummer* or *midwinter* sunrise, the rising of the tropical or solstitial sun, in direct relation and contrast to what he had said of the equinoctial sun immediately before. Now, as Philemon Holland puts it (Pliny, 18, 34): 'The Levant varieth every day, for that the Sun never riseth the morrow morning from the same point just that he rose the day before: which I note lest haply any man should take one certain line for to point out the Sun rising or the East, and make his quadrant or compass thereby.' And so, to understand the place where the sun rises or sets at the tropic (or any other day of the year), we need the help of a very little elementary astronomy, just such astronomy as our grandmothers learned from 'the use of the globes.' For, by the way, that obsolete but time-honoured subject of feminine education was no laughing matter; it harked back to the Middle Ages, it was a direct inheritance from the scholastic astronomy of the days before the telescope, the astronomy that Chaucer and George Buchanan and Milton knew.

We know that the ecliptic cuts the equator at an angle of about  $23\frac{1}{2}^\circ$ ; and at precisely that angle, then, to the north and south of East or West, does the sun rise or set at its midsummer or midwinter solstices, as seen from the equator itself. But we also know that, in our northern latitudes, the midsummer sun visibly rises and sets a very great deal farther to the North, and that, when we reach the Arctic Circle,  $23\frac{1}{2}^\circ$  from the pole, the midsummer sun neither rises nor sets at all.

Without attempting to explain the trigonometrical reasoning by which the formula is arrived at, let us take it from the astronomers that the apparent direction (or angle of azimuth) of the solstitial sunrise (or sunset) is given by the expression

$$\sin x = \sin \omega, \operatorname{cosec} s,$$

where  $\omega$  is the angle of the ecliptic ( $23\frac{1}{2}^\circ$ ),  $s$  is the co-latitude (or  $90^\circ - \lambda$ ) of the place in question, and  $x$  is the solstitial azimuth required. (If we understand 'the use of the globes,' we can do the whole thing practically in a minute or two; and if we happen to be yachtsmen we shall not calculate it at all, but shall look it all out in Birdwood's *Azimuth Tables*.) Now Athens lies in latitude  $38^\circ$  N., almost exactly; and, working out our equation from this value, we find that the midsummer sun rises just about  $30^\circ 24'$  to the North of East, or (in round numbers) has a 'north amplitude' of  $30^\circ$ . And though we go as far south as Northern Egypt or as Babylon (say  $32^\circ$  N. latitude), or as far north as Thrace (say  $40^\circ$  N.), the amplitude, or azimuth, of the midsummer sun will not vary more than from about  $27\frac{1}{2}^\circ$  to  $31\frac{1}{2}^\circ$ : it will still be, very approximately, *one-third of the way round* from East to North. (The value for Rome is  $32\frac{1}{2}^\circ$ , for Greenwich close on  $40^\circ$ , and for Dundee, where I write,  $46\frac{1}{2}^\circ$ .)

So, coming back to our compass-card (Figs. 2, 3), we perceive that when Aristotle (or whoever it may have been) had found from the sun the places of his four secondary (or as we may now call them *solstitial*) as well as his four cardinal winds, these secondary or solstitial winds lay just

*one-third of a quadrant* on either side of east and west, and left therefore vacant sectors towards the north and south of precisely twice this magnitude. And finally, therefore, when these latter sectors came to be divided in half, the compass-card was found to be *equally and symmetrically divided* into twelve sectors, each of  $30^\circ$ .

Ideler, Genelli, and Wood all put their finger on this simple explanation; but Ideler seems to have fought shy of it before he was done. Though he is somewhat hard to follow, it seems plain that Ideler comes at last to the conclusion that by Aristotle's midsummer sunrise we are to understand not the apparent sunrise at any particular locality, but the theoretical angle of the ecliptic (Fig. 4). And this he assumes definitely



FIG. 4.—A hypothetical wind-rose, as conceived (e.g.) by Ideler: in which the solstitial winds blow from the theoretic angle of the ecliptic, that is to say from the solstitial sunrise and sunset as seen from the equator.

in his note on *Meteor.* 2, vi. 363b, where Aristotle tells us that the points I, K (the positions of the winds Thrascias and Meses) coincide nearly, but not precisely, with the Arctic Circle: ἡ δὲ τοῦ ΙΚ διάμετρος βούλεται μὲν κατὰ τὸν διὰ παντὸς εἶναι φαινόμενον, οὐκ ἀκριβοῖ δέ.—'Recte, nam ex nostra divisione Meses spirat ex puncto quod respondet  $23^\circ + \frac{67}{2} = 56^\circ 30'$  lat. bor. Circulus arcticus contra  $67^\circ$  lat. bor.' (Ideler, in *Meteor.* 1, p. 575-6). As a matter of fact, our symmetrical orientation of Meses, at  $60^\circ$  N., brings it still nearer to the Arctic Circle (Fig. 2), and into



still better harmony with Aristotle's statement.

Mr. Wood wrote independently, without knowledge of Ideler's work or of Genelli's; and his conclusions are, in general, those which I here adopt and advocate. That is to say, after pointing out clearly that the 'secondary' winds are defined by reference to the solstitial sunrise and sunset, he goes on to say (p. 82) that there are reasons against placing the supposed observer at the equator, and that 'altogether it seems most reasonable to suppose that, writing at Athens for Greeks, he (Aristotle) took Athens as his centre of observation.' This is the whole gist of the matter. The reader may be a little perplexed (as I was) by the fact that, in the end (p. 91), Mr. Wood sets forth the direction, or orientation, of the several winds according to Aristotle in a table of which the following is a part: Boreas,  $0^{\circ}$ ; Meses,  $33^{\circ} 15' \pm$ ; Caecias,  $66^{\circ} 30' \pm$ ; Apeliotes,  $90^{\circ}$ . But here Mr. Wood (as he now tells me) was only giving the benefit of the doubt to other possible alternatives: 'I did not think myself justified' (he says, *in litt.*) 'in putting down my own view as the *only* possible solution of Aristotle's expression.'

While we may confidently dismiss the current view, the view of Kaibel and Capelle and their followers, that the four secondary winds, Caecias, etc., blew from the N.E. and so on, we are bound to pay due respect to the other element of doubt, viz. whether Aristotle took them as blowing from the theoretical, or from the actual visible sunrise. I believe (just as Mr. Wood believes) that Aristotle (or whoever introduced the system) was thinking of the actual sunrise, just as he was thinking of an actual wind; he was not thinking of an observer at the equator, where no Greek had ever been; and moreover he would be the less apt to think of, and guard against, the influence of locality, inasmuch as even considerable differences of latitude make comparatively little difference in the particular latitudes in question. Again, as a further argument, it seems to me that the choice of the ecliptic angle ( $23\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ ) would have led naturally to a division of the quadrant into *four* coequal parts (for a quarter of  $90^{\circ}$  is  $22\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ ), just as

the choice of the solstitial azimuth at Athens ( $30^{\circ}$ ) must lead naturally to a division of the quadrant into three.

We come, then, to the following conclusions: (1) That the Aristotelian classification of the winds was based originally and directly on a meteorological theory of their connection with the sun. (2) That this same classification, and the corresponding division of the compass-card, was a duodecimal one—a method precisely akin to the duodecimal or zodiacal division of the ecliptic, and for that very reason (as we may perhaps venture to say) more than a little suggestive of Babylonian origin or influence. (3) That this division was a symmetrical one, into twelve *co-equal* sectors, an arrangement which, in the latitude of Athens, happened to harmonise precisely (or within a fraction of a degree) with the solar hypothesis, and which would still agree with it very approximately within any part of the area of Hellenic or pre-Hellenic civilisation.

This duodecimal classification of the winds held the field, though not without competition, for a very long time. It was in all probability old, even apart from our conjecture regarding its Babylonian origin. We seem to find in it (as Mr. J. G. Wood has told us) the origin and meaning of the Homeric myth of the twelve colts, begotten by Boreas of the mares of Erichthonius (*Il.* xx. 225): αἱ δ' ὑποκυσάμεναι ἔτεκον δυοκαίδεκα πῶλους | αἱ δ' ὅτε μὲν σκιρτῶεν ἐπὶ ζείδωρον ἄρουραν, | ἄκρον ἐπ' ἀνθερίκων καρπὸν θέον οὐδὲ κατέκλων; and we have it again, in the *Odyssey*, in the six sons and six daughters of Aeolus, though in the *Iliad* Homer only mentions three winds by name (*Il.* ix. 5, xxi. 334, xxiii. 195, etc.),<sup>1</sup> and in the *Odyssey* four (*Od.* v. 295). We have the duodecimal classification in Aristotle and Theophrastus; and again in Varro and Seneca,<sup>2</sup> both of whom discussed and appreciated the

<sup>1</sup> In the Old Testament also we have but three winds, N., E., and S.; cf. C. Kassner, *Meteorologie der Bibel, Das Wetter*, xi. 1892, pp. 25-37; *Meteor. Zeitsch.* 1894, p. 400.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also Veget. *Milit.* 5, 8; Auct. epigr. in *Anthol. Lat.* 2, p. 381; Philarg. ad Virg. *G.* iv. 298, omnes autem venti, praeter enchorios, sunt duodecim.

underlying relations to the sun (cf. Seneca, *Nat. Q.* v. 16: *Quidam illos duodecim faciunt: quatuor enim coeli partes in ternas dividunt, et singulis ventis (i.e. ventis quatuor cardinalibus) binos subpraefectos [or collaterales, as late writers, e.g. Isidore of Seville and Bartholomew the Englishman call them] dant. Hac arte Varro, vir diligens, illos ordinat, nec sine causa. Non enim eodem loco semper sol oritur et occidit, sed alius est ortus occasusque aequinoctialis, bis autem aequinoctium est, alius solstitialis, alius hibernus. . . . Ab oriente solstitiali excitatum κακίας Graeci adpellant, apud nos sine nomine est, etc.). We have it in marble in the 'Table of the Winds' on the Belvidere Terrace adjoining the Museo Clementino of the Vatican—a monument of the second or perhaps third century of our era, of which a photograph is to be found in Mr. Wood's book. And it survived, through Agathemerus, Adamantius and Isidore of Seville, into and even beyond mediaeval times. Bartholomew (*De Proprietatibus* xi. 2) retains it; so does Joachim Camerarius, in his *Aeolia* and *Prognostica* (Nuremberg, 1535); and, as Wood tells us, we find it (together with the comparatively modern division of the compass-card into thirty-two points<sup>1</sup>) in Vincenzo Coronelli's *Epitome Cosmografica* (1693). In our own older school-books on 'The Use of the Globes' (for instance Moxon's, 1659, and probably in others much later still) we have the very same thing: 'The two other circles [on the wooden horizon of the Globe] are the Circles of the Winds: the innermost bearing their Greek and Latin names; which by them were but twelve; and the outermost having their English Names, which for more preciseness are two and thirty.'*

A still more interesting case is that of the Emperor Charlemagne, who,

according to Eginhard (*Vita Karoli Imp.*, cap. 29, p. 92, ed. Theulet) gave distinguishing names to the twelve winds, of which up to his time it was 'scarcely possible' to find [Frankish] names for four. (Wood suggests, by the way, that this reform may have been due to the learned Alcuin of York, afterwards Abbot of St. Martin of Tours.) These Old High German names were such as the following: the east wind (*subsolanus*) is called *Ostroni*; the next wind towards the north (? *Vulturinus*, i.e. *κακίας*), *Ostnordroni*; the next again (i.e. *μέσσης*), *Nordostroni*; and the north wind itself (*Septentrio*), *Nordroni*. Now these Carolingian names, and their fellows, remind us that we ourselves are still in a verbal difficulty as to the naming of the winds under a duodecimal system. Our Saxon forefathers had a nomenclature precisely corresponding to that Frankish one which has been ascribed to Charlemagne (cf. the seventh century Corpus College Glossary, A 46 Ab Euro: eastansudan; A 89, Ab Africo: sudanwestan, etc.; also Abbot Alfric in Wright-Wülcker's *AS. Vocab.*, 1884, p. 144; cf. also 'circius: uuestnorduind,' etc., in *C.G.L.*, v. 355, 72); but we have no corresponding appellations, and the thirty-two points, or 'rhombs,' of the compass do not serve our purpose. We cannot call (with Liddell and Scott) the wind *κακίας*, whose bearing is 30° North of East, a North-East wind. It actually lies between E.N.E. (22½°) and N.E. by E. (33¾° N.); a sailor would probably call it N.E. by E., easterly. Charlemagne and Abbot Alfric called it an 'East-North' wind, which is not the same as their 'North-East' wind; while our North-East lies midway between their two. We are reduced to periphrasis, or better to the retention of the untranslated classical names.

Let us note in passing that neither the later Greeks nor the Romans, any more than Homer himself, seem to have thought of describing any particular or temporary wind in terms of the precise quarter from which it happened to blow. They still thought of the winds as a certain limited number of individualised things, each having its own particular domicile in the heavens; and the primi-

<sup>1</sup> The 'modern' compass-card of 32 points is of medieval origin; it came first into use in the Mediterranean, where its history is involved with that of the compass itself. This subject has a copious literature of its own. Cf. (e.g.) D'Avezac, *Aperçus historiques sur la Boussole*, *Bull. Soc. Géogr. Paris*, (4) xix. 1860; Ap. histor. sur la Rose des Vents, *Bollet. Soc. Geogr. Ital.*, xi. 1874; P. Tim. Bertelli, *Studi storici int. alla Bussola nautica*, *Mem. Accad. d. N. Lincei*, ix. 1893, etc.

tive state of mind which this betokens is one which we ourselves have by no means got rid of.

In addition to, but later than, the duodecimal classification of the winds, we also find a well-established method of octants, such as is the basis of our own compass-card. The chief ancient monument on this plan is the celebrated Tower of the Winds at Athens, otherwise known as the Horologium of Andronicus Cyrrhestes, of the second century A.D., which is described by Vitruvius (i. 6) and elaborately drawn to scale in Stuart and Revett's *Antiquities of Athens* (vol. i. pls. 1-19, 1762; cf. also Le Roy, *Ruines des plus beaux Monuments de la Grèce*, 1770, ii. pp. 7-10, 50-51; and G. Hellmann in *Himmel u. Erde*, ii. 1890). Seneca, in the *Agamemnon* (v. 469 f.), likewise speaks of eight winds, and so does Pliny (*H.N.* ii. 46). But it by no means follows that these eight are to be identified with the eight octants of the Tower of the Winds. Rather may we take it that both by Seneca and Pliny, and certainly by the latter, the duodecimal classification was by no means abandoned, only that the four subordinate winds were left out of account. Thus Pliny's eight winds are clearly defined (with a slight exception in the case of Aquilo) as blowing (1) from the north and south; (2) from the equinoctial sunrise and sunset, *i.e.* from east and west; and (3) from sunrise and sunset at the solstices. He goes on to say that some persons add four others to this list, viz. Thrascias, Caecias,<sup>1</sup> Phoenicias, Libonotus, these being the remaining four of the full duodecimal or Aristotelian classification. And lastly, we may perhaps supplement this brief account of Pliny's classification by a quotation from Agellius (ii. 23; cit. Salmasius, p. 1245b): 'Eae duae regiones caeli Orientis Occidentisque inter se adversae sex habere ventos videntur. Meridies autem, quoniam certo atque fixo limite est, unum Meridiale ventum habet; Septentriones

autem habent ob eandem causam unum.'

The foregoing paper is little more than a note on a particular though fundamental point, and is a very long way short of an attempt to discuss the whole subject of the Greek and Roman winds. Every point that I have touched might easily be enlarged upon, and there are many interesting questions which I have wholly omitted or to which I have scarcely referred. Thus, for instance, we might make an attempt to deal with the origin of the Aristotelian and Ps.-Aristotelian views (cf. *e.g.* Eugen Oder, 'Antike Quellensucher,' *Philol. Suppl.* vii. p. 363; Genelli, Kaibel, etc., *op. cit.*); with what Posidonius had to say on the matter, or what Timosthenes, or what Thrasyalces (Strabo, i. p. 26b). We might deal with the very complicated synonymy of the winds, and the overlapping or conflicting nomenclature of some of them; with why, for instance, Pliny and Seneca set Boreas or Aquilo to the eastward of Septentrio or Aparctias, or why 'Vitruvius Solanum dicit qui aliis est Eurus, et Eurum qui aliis Voltumnus,' and with other kindred difficulties of nomenclature and identification in very many authors, from Herodotus (vii. 188) onwards. Again, with the various winds which do not come within the more general classification, such as the Etesian and Ornithian winds; or the πρόδρομοι, the N.W. winds which heralded the rising of the Dog-star; or the land-breezes and sea-breezes (*aurae venti altani*), the ἀπογέλαι and τροπαίαι; or the trade-winds and monsoons—such as the wind Hippalus, whereby men 'navigant diebus quadraginta ad primum Emporium Indiae Muzirim.' With the νόθοι άνεμοι, 'venti enchorii,' or 'venti locales et certarum tantum regionum peculiares, (Adamant. apud Aetium); with these and other geographical appellations, such as Olympias, Hellepontius, Strymonius, (cf. *e.g.* F. Umlauf, Ueber die Namen der Winde, *Meteor. Zeitschr.*, xxix. 1894); and with their bearing on the question of where the writers dwelt who make mention of them. With the interesting question of the grouping of the winds, and why, for instance, Aristotle brought them all down at length to two groups,

<sup>1</sup> There is some confusion here, with which we cannot stop to deal. Caecias is out of place; and Pliny has no wind from sunrise at the summer solstice, where Caecias ought to be.

of Northerly and Southerly winds (*Meteor.* ii. 6; cf. Strabo i. p. 29). With the endless folk-lore tales and familiar epithets of the winds, in old Greece and in new: how the North Wind is Βασιλεὺς ἀνέμων in Pindar, and Κύρ βορεᾶ to this day, and Γέρο βορεᾶ, the Old Man of the North, to sailors; how men raised altars to Boreas and to Zephyrus, and to these alone;<sup>1</sup> how the Father, or the Mother, of the Winds treated their blustering sons; and how Sirocco, cruellest of them all, comes home calling, 'I smell the blood of an [English]man'—'Ἦχι, μητέρα, ἀνθρωπινὸν κρέας.'<sup>2</sup> A minor theme would be to inquire into the continued modern usage of certain of the ancient names, of which we have an interesting case, as Ideler tells us, in the Provençal *cers* (*circius*) for the Mistral (in Narbonensi provincia clarissimus ventorum, nec ullo violentia inferior), of which Strabo gives us a vigorous description. And, lastly, there would still remain the whole mass of meteorological considerations connected with the seasons, characters and properties ascribed to the several winds,<sup>3</sup> including the many interesting and strictly scientific questions raised in the twenty-sixth book of

<sup>1</sup> *Od.* xxiii. 195; cf. Maury, *Hist. des Relig. de la Grèce*, i. p. 167.

<sup>2</sup> N. G. Politis, *Δημοδοῖς μετεωρολογικοὶ μῦθοι*, Athens, 1880, p. 32.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. (*int. al.*) A. Mommsen, *Neugriechische Bauernregeln*, Schleswig, 1873.

Aristotle's *Problems*—why, for instance, at Cyrene and the Hellespont the North-wind, but in Lesbos the South-wind, is the rain-bringer; or why a miser is said 'to gather gold as Caecias gathers clouds.' In which inquiry some questions would soon arise of a very technical kind; but in regard to others we should be content to recognise the faithful witness of familiar lines. Then we might call to mind 'Sirocco and Libeccio': this, *protervus, creber procellis*, the 'Sou'wester' of the mariner, *decertans Aquilonibus*: that, (with little doubt) Horace's *pestilens Africus*, and (of a certainty) Ovid's '*madidis Notus alis, Terribilem picea tectus caligine vultum*.' It is 'il vento pellegrin, che l'aer turba'; or 'Afer, black with thunderous clouds from Serralliona.' It penetrates to the Euxine, it drove Ovid to despair: '*Terribilisque Notus jactat mea dicta, precesque, Ad quos mittuntur, non sinit ire deos*.' Here too Ovid felt the blind fury of Boreas 'romping from the North'—'*nunc gelidus sicca Boreas bacchatur ab Arcto*': as it blows, harsh and cold, in the Tramontana of Piedmont and in the Bora of the Adriatic, and blew (as some take it) in St. Paul's Euroclydon. Or we might think again, in happier recollection, of the soft Atlantic winds of Portugal, (or of Galway), where αἰεὶ ζεφύροιο λυγρὸν πνεῖοντας ἀήτας | Ὠκεανὸς ἀφήσι.

D'ARCY WENTWORTH THOMPSON.

### THREE PASSAGES IN HESIOD'S WORKS AND DAYS.

I HAVE read with great interest Mr. A. S. F. Gow's notes on *The Works and Days* of Hesiod in the July number of the *Classical Quarterly*. He has discussed many passages with admirable candour and judgment, and if one could accept the tradition as perfect or even approximately correct, which is far from being the case, one might be disposed to agree with most, if not all, his conclusions. For example, I think he is quite successful, when dealing with 18 f., in rescuing Zeus from the suburbs of Tartarus, in spite of the scholiasts who would place him there, as does Paley rather half-

heartedly. Still I submit it is hardly right or possible to make Hesiod consign the good Eris, or the bad one either, to the same undesirable residential area. Hesiod is far from doing so. He says expressly (11):

ἀλλ' ἐπὶ γαίαν εἰσι δῶω.

However, I do not rely on this argument, good as it may seem. Let us look at the whole sentence referring to the good Eris. It stands thus (Rzach):

τὴν δ' ἐτέρην προτέρην μὲν ἐγείνατο Νῦξ ἐρεβεννή,  
θῆκε δὲ μιν Κρονίδης ὑψίστηνος, αἰθέρι ναίων,  
γαίης ἐν βίῃσι, καὶ ἀνδράσι πολλὸν ἀμείνω



(τ' ἐν MSS. τ' del. Gurzet). Mr. Gow accepts this as it stands, and Zeus is represented as placing Eris in this district 'at the roots of the earth' and making her 'much better for mankind.' To begin with, the concurrent double construction of *θήκε*, first with the prepositional phrase and then with the adjective, is hardly admissible; and if we ask whether Zeus did either of these things, the answer in the first case is certainly, and in the second case probably, negative. How could Zeus place Eris ἐν γαίης ῥίζησι when that was her birth-place? He might detain her there or send her back there, neither of which he did; neither of which could well be described by *θήκε*.

It follows, I think, inevitably that the three lines fail to convey the poet's meaning, and the reason for this failure is not an unfathomable mystery. Hesiod must be held responsible for two lines only:

τὴν δ' ἐτέρην προτέρην μὲν ἐγένετο Νύξ ἐρεβεννή  
γαίης ἐν ῥίζησι καὶ ἀνδράσι πολλὸν ἀμείνω.

They convey reasonable information. The second Eris is the child of Night. She was born in the lower regions. She is the elder, and more than that she renders far better service to mankind.

Then comes in the interpolator, a character whose work no intelligent reader of Hesiod can fail to be conscious of, though its extent may be, or rather must be difficult to gauge. In this case he seems to have been somewhat of a religious enthusiast, bent on doing honour to Zeus, and impressing us with the unlimited extent of his power to control the forces of the universe. He inserted then from the best of motives the intermediate line,

θήκε δὲ μιν Κρονίδης ὑψίστος αἰθέρι ναίων,

gaining his end indeed, but throwing Hesiod's statement into its present confusion. Cf. 4, 79, 99 (a very clear case) and probably 105, Theog. 465, 1002, etc.

Still greater is the confusion that prevails in the 'notorious crux,' as Mr. Gow calls it, the passage beginning 314:

δαίμονι δ' ὅλος ἔησθα, τὸ ἐργάζεσθαι ἀμεινον,  
εἰ κεν ἀπ' ἄλλοτρίων κτεάνων ἀεσίφρονα θυμὸν  
εἰς ἔργον τρέψας μελετᾷς βίου, ὥς σε κελεύω.

The difficulty is almost wholly in the first line. Mr. Gow does not seem in-

clined to accept *ἔησθα* and the rendering 'whatever be your fortune,' and I think he is right; but not so when he proposes to remove the comma after *ἔησθα* and place it after *ἐργάζεσθαι*, accepting the absurd statement of Hesychius that *δαίμων* is the same as *δαήμων*. Archilochus is a very different authority, but I do not for a moment believe that the line from fr. 3,

ταύτης γὰρ κείνοι δαίμονες εἰσι μάχης,

was thus written by Archilochus. He almost to a certainty said *ἰδμονες*, and in later times, unwilling to tolerate the seemingly ghastly hiatus, the copyists put the delta first and easily produced *δαίμονες*. Mr. Gow might indeed read *ἰδμονι* here, but this makes the difficulty of τὸ before *ἐργάζεσθαι* still greater. But what reason is there to suppose that Perses was either a skilled workman or a demon for work? Hesiod evidently thought he was an idle rascal; and if he possessed any skill, why did the poet give him so much information that must in such a case have been superfluous? He would simply be carrying coals to Newcastle.

I see but one way out of the difficulties of this extraordinary line, and that is to make it plain and intelligible by some slight correction. We ought, I think, to read it thus:

δαίμονι, εἰς ἔης, τόφρα ἐργάζεσθαι ἀμεινον,

'My good fellow,' says Hesiod, 'while you live it is better to work all the while.' *Δαίμονι* conveys a sort of hint that Perses was not altogether a satisfactory character, but perhaps a little abnormal. Then comes the couplet, εἴ κεν . . . κελεύω, which is really an epexegetis of *ἐργάζεσθαι*: Perses will be doing real work if he gives up trying to get other people's property and attends to his farm.

For the sequence *εἰς* . . . *τόφρα* v. Σ 16 f. μ 327 f. Naturally the first syllable of *τόφρα* is always in arsis, and therefore long, but there is nothing to be urged against the same syllable being short in thesis. It is an interesting question and may at another time claim attention, but is not of vital importance to my suggestion for the rehabilitation of this line except so far as *τόφρα* affords a very probable starting-point in the pro-

cess of the corruption it has sustained.  
The perplexities of 416,

μετὰ δὲ τρέπεται βρότεος χρώς  
πολλὸν ἐλαφρότερος,

are ably stated and discussed by Mr. Gow. He concludes rightly enough that *χρώς* here means 'skin' rather than 'body'; but his resultant translation, 'the skin of men becomes less burdensome by far,' is really not materially better than Mair's 'the flesh of men turneth lighter far,' or Goettling's long rigmarole *Longe magis agile et vegetum ad obeunda negotia surgit humanum corpus*. The body might feel lighter, but the skin cannot. The weight of the latter is not felt by any human being at any season of the year or at any period of life. On the other hand, Hesiod is not likely to have said that the body feels lighter or more active and vigorous in the autumn: many have remarked that this phenomenon occurs in the spring, as of course it does, not in man alone but in all animal and vegetable life.

Once more the fault lies not with Hesiod, but with those who have transmitted his words to us. The punctuation, and the punctuation alone, has made nonsense of the passage. Hesiod wrote it thus:

μετὰ δὲ τρέπεται βρότεος χρώς·  
πολλὸν ἐλαφρότερος δὴ γὰρ τότε Σείριος ἀστὴρ  
βαῖον ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς κητριφένων ἀνθρώπων  
ἔρχεται ἡμάτιος, πλείον δὲ τε νυκτὸς ἐπαυρεῖ·

Πολλὸν ἐλαφρότερος, 'much less oppressive,' is descriptive of the Dog-star, and occupies an emphatic but legitimate position in front of *δὴ γὰρ τότε*, which under ordinary circumstances would stand first, cf. *σαώτερος ὥς κε νέηται* (A 32).

Five results, four physical, one economic, follow the disappearance of the intense midsummer heat: (1) sun-burnt human beings lose their tan (416) because Sirius is less active; (2) v. 420; (3 and 4) v. 421; (5) wood-cutting becomes the farmer's incumbent duty (422).

T. L. AGAR.

August 3, 1917.

## OVIDIANA: NOTES ON THE FASTI.

### II.

#### II. 770.

769 Carpitur attonitos absentis imagine  
sensus  
ille. recordanti plura magisque placet:

'sic sedit, sic culta fuit, sic stamina nevit,  
neglectae collo sic iacuer comae,  
hos habuit vultus, haec illi verba fuerunt,  
hic color, haec facies, hic decor oris  
erat.'

Tarquin is infatuated and is recounting to himself the various charms of Lucretia. The MSS. are almost unanimous with regard to line 770. M has *iamque*, and a few inferior MSS. vary between *illa* and *atque* for *ille*. One late MS. has *pulchra* for *plura*, and a few read *placet*. Heinsius suggested

*illa recordanti pulchra (or plusque) magisque placet.*

I feel certain Ovid wrote

*ille. recordanti plurima, plura placent.*

'As he thinks of her many charms, many more occur to charm him.'<sup>1</sup>

For the word play, compare

I. 212 et cum possideant plurima, plura  
petunt.

*Ibis*, 119, 120 dignisque puteris  
qui, mala cum tuleris plurima,  
plura feras.

Ovid delighted in such tricks of phrase; we have many in the *Fasti* (e.g. IV.

<sup>1</sup> It is possible that there is a similar word-play in IV. 441, where Ovid may have written  
*plurima lecta rosa est, plures sine nomine flores.*

'Many a rose is gathered, more still the nameless flowers' (sunt et sine R, et sunt sine V, lecti sine Bentley, sumpti sine Riese). The assimilative type of blunder is very frequent in MSS. of our author, and 'flores sine nomine flores' may have emerged here. In the vulgate we have a correction of some such blunder, or possibly the intrusion of a completive gloss (*et sunt*).

924; cf. *A.A.* I. 160, 310; *Trist.* III. 5, 21). By a peculiar irony of fate, such triumphs of neat expression suffered most at the hands of copyists and correctors (cf. *Trist.* I. 11, 12; *Rem.* 484.<sup>1</sup> The stages of corruption were 1, *plurama plura*, 2, *plurama*, and our corrector regarded the latter as = *plura magis*; he had little scruple about adding a *q*;<sup>2</sup>

### III. 713-718.

Tertia post idus lux est celeberrima Baccho.  
Bacche, fave vati, dum tua festa cano.  
nec referam Semelen, ad quam nisi fulmina  
secum

Iuppiter adferret, spretus inermis erat,  
nec, puer ut posses maturo tempore nasci,  
expletum patrio corpore matris opus.

So Peter reads, adopting Riese's *spretus* for the *parvus* of all MSS. In 715 V.M. and nearly all the remaining MSS. read *nisi*: this word is added *sup.* *lin.* in R. One second class MS. (T) has *cum*, which is a *v.l.* in E. In 716 we have *inherbis eras* R, *inermis erat* R<sub>3</sub>; *inermis erat* V; *inermis eras* M.<sup>3</sup> The following attempts have been made to restore the passage: *cum f. s.* | *I. a., partus acerbus eras* (Koch), *cum f. s.* | *I. a., partus inermis eras* (Heinsius, Madvig), *nisi f. s.* | *I. a., sarcina matris eras* (Merkel): Riese's suggestion is given above. Here R gives us, as he often does, apparently nonsense. The copyist was ignorant and somnolent, but he is none the less useful because he fails to concoct a plausible forgery. Observe (1) that he omitted a word after *quam* (I suggest that it was added by another hand or that it was omitted by the first hand of R's original);

<sup>1</sup> Of course some critics remain unconvinced. Merkel is unable to receive the reading of an inscription (Gruter, 637, 5 *CIL.* VI. 2 n. 9632) against the MSS. in the *Tristia*; Ehwald clings still to P's *quaerenti* in

'credite: credenti nulla procella nocet' (*Am.* II., 11, 21).

<sup>2</sup> For *plurama* from *plurima*, see Havet, p. 134: *plura* would drop out after *plurama*. Thus *nube* is omitted after *nubere* (*Her.* IX. 32) in P, and we have only *nubere pari*.

<sup>3</sup> Merkel's statement that *parvus inermis erat* is the reading of 'vett. ed.' is hardly accurate. Except the *Ed. Venet. Rub.*, such old editions as I have seen read *parvus inermis eras*.

(2) that he wrote *eras*, that he wrote *parvus* followed by *inherbis* which is unmetrical and nonsense, but still a sign that the writer is more concerned with copying than improving his text. Let us proceed on the hypothesis that a word dropped out after *quam*, that R's *inherbis* is a blunder, and that R's *eras* is right. *Eras* seems to be right. Ovid is addressing Bacchus, and it is to Bacchus that we would naturally expect the parenthetical clause introduced by *ad quam* to refer. The whole sentence occupies the two couplets 715-719. The two direct objects of *referam* (*Semelen* and *expletum opus*) are enlarged by supplementary remarks; the subject of the second of these remarks is Bacchus (*posses*); structural symmetry would suggest that the subject of the other remark was also Bacchus. Apart from this point, I feel that in Riese's emendation the *inermis* is feeble and otiose (= *sine fulminibus*), and I think that Ovid would not in this particular instance have put the subject of *erat* in the *nisi* . . . *adferret* sentence, but would have observed the more natural order (*nisi f. s. adferret, Iuppiter spretus erat*). And *erat* in V can be explained. The copyist had before him something very like R's *parvus inherbis eras*. He was certain to make the obvious correction *inermis* for *inherbis*. But even without *inermis* he could hardly help thinking of lines 437-448: 'Iuppiter est iuvenis . . . fulmina nulla tenet . . . primo tempore (= *parvus*) inermis erat . . . vesca parva vocant . . . cur non ego Veiovis aedem non-magni (= *parvi*) suspicer esse Iovis.' Here in 715, 716 was a passage dealing with *Iuppiter* and his *fulmina*; whether it was *parvus* produced *inermis* or *inermis* produced *parvus*, one thing seems certain to me—that the reminiscence of the earlier passage produced *erat*. Once the copyist formed the theory that *inermis* was a predicate of *Iuppiter*, *nisi* and no other word would fill the gap in 715. Let us see, therefore, if we can make anything for ourselves out of R's 'ad quam . . . fulmina secum Iuppiter adferret parvus inherbis eras.' Retain *eras*, assume that *inermis* is the correct emendation (it is the most obvious one) of *inherbis*.

*Parvus* will then be a blunder (due to the suggestion of the earlier passage for some noun<sup>1</sup> or past participle of possibly similar appearance. Now Ovid is very fond of *prendere* and *deprendere*. He uses the former in a literal (=catch), the latter in a figurative (=detect) sense, but this distinction is not always observed.<sup>2</sup> And *deprendere inermem* seems to be peculiar to Ovid. We have:

*Am.* II. 10, 3 per te decipior: per te deprensus inermis.

*Am.* III. 7, 71 per te deprensus inermis

*Rem.* 347 improvisus ades, depren-des tutus inermem.

In our present passage Ovid is indicating, in quick touches, the all victorious career of Bacchus, the conqueror of the Orient, of Scythia, and Thrace, the god who was so present to help his friends and punish his enemies (713-724). But sceptics had scoffed at the story of his birth and had suggested that Semele had been punished by Jupiter for blasphemous falsehoods. How is it, they would say, that this all-powerful and victorious god could not save his own mother from a miserable death? Ovid meets this reproach; he apologises for Bacchus's one failure<sup>3</sup> (and not for Jupiter's cruelty, as Riese thinks). I think we might restore the passage thus:

nec referam Semele (ad quam cum fulmina secum

Iuppiter adferret, prensus inermis eras),  
nec, puer ut posses maturo tempore nasci,  
expletum patrio corpore matris opus.

Jupiter destroyed Semele—true, but at the time Jupiter found Bacchus helpless and unarmed.<sup>4</sup> There is a tacit

<sup>1</sup> *Parvus* can hardly be used as a noun, see Burman on II. 385: he forgot this note when he read *parvus* here.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. *A.A.* II. 557-559 'deprendere parcite vestras . . . crescit amor prensis?'

<sup>3</sup> Bacchus made reparation by bringing up Semele from Hades: Diod. IV. 25, Apoll. III. 38, Hyg. *Fab.* 251. The ascent was through the Alcyonian Lake at Lerna, Paus. II. 37, 5. It is to this descent into Hades that Horace alludes in *Ode* II. 19, 29. The legend was an old one; Pindar describes Semele living amongst the immortals, *Ol.* II. 25, *Pyth.* XI. 1.

<sup>4</sup> *Prensus inermis* is more appropriate than *deprensus inermis*, for Bacchus is actually

implication that Jupiter would not care to provoke the Victor Bacchus of later life.<sup>5</sup> This conceit partakes of impiety as regards Jupiter, but Ovid had few qualms where a story or even a dialectical point was concerned.

*Cum* was likely to be omitted after *quam*, especially if abbreviations were used in the archetype (I have several reasons for believing that there were).<sup>6</sup> The substitution of *parvus* (*puus*) for *prensus* (*pnsus*) is not in itself unlikely, and would be rendered almost inevitable for a copyist who remembered the earlier passage.

#### IV. 617.

813 'nil opus est' dixit 'certamine' Romulus  
'ullo:

magna fides avium est. experiamur  
aves.

res placet. alter init nemorosi saxa  
Palati,  
alter Aventinum mane cacumen init.

817 sex Remus, hic volucres bis sex videt  
ordine. pacto  
statur, et arbitrium Romulus urbis  
habet.

Lines 817, 818 are found as above in most editions. *Pacto* is read by R, and apparently V; M and a very large number of second class MSS. have *facto*. One MS. has *ordine fecit*, another has *ordine frater*. In 818 *statur et* is supported by the mass of MSS.: *alter et* (from 816) in a few MSS., *instat et* in

caught in the storm of Fire, without resource or helper (cf. *A.A.* III. 359 'bellatorque suo prensus sine compare bellat'). His plight is somewhat analogous to that of the sailor caught in a sudden squall, 'in patenti prensus Aegaeo' (Hor. c. II. 16, 2).

<sup>5</sup> The warlike side to Dionysus' character is sometimes forgotten, but his followers gloried in it. Infidels scoffed at the defenceless stripling ('puer inermis', *Met.* III. 553), and the effeminate debauchee (see Eur. *Bacch.* 223-238), but he was potent on the battlefield, both as an inspirer of panic (Eur. 301-305) and as a real rival of Ares (Bacchus 'Ἐννάλιος cognominatur, *Macr.* I. 19, 2). His triumphs rivalled those of his sire: 'Dionysus praeter Iovem solus omnium deorum triumphavit' (*Lact. Inst.* I. 10, 8). See Brandt's note on *A.A.*, I. 190. Most modern editors (except Dr. Gow) differ—perhaps rashly—from Bentley on Hor. c. I. 12, 21, and ascribe to *Liber* the epithet *proeliis audax*.

<sup>6</sup> I speak with some diffidence on such matters, but see Lindsay, *N.L.*, p. 41 and pp. 215-218.



one, and *frater et* in another MS., seem mere blunders.

'Vera lectio,' says Heinsius, 'quicquid turbant codices nonnulli,' and he cites *Met.* II. 818 to confirm *pacto statur*. And *ordine* in itself seems all right, whether you take it to mean 'in turn' (cf. V. 513), or 'duly' (cf. IV. 159, or 'one after the other' (cf. V. 727).<sup>1</sup> But I think we may learn something from the variants. They were introduced by correctors who felt that the strong pause after the fifth foot should not be followed by a pause after the trochee in the first foot of the pentameter. I think that we should make a slight correction

sex Remus, hic volucres bis sex videt:  
omine pacto  
statur, et arbitrium Romulus urbis habet.

In *Met.* VI. 448 all the good MSS. read *ordine*: the correct and accepted reading *omine* appears only in the margin of M. Ovid did not make fine distinctions between *omina* and *auguria*; we have, a few lines later:

tonitru dedit omina laevo Iuppiter . . .  
augurio laeti iaciunt fundamina cives  
(833-835).

#### VI. 345, 346.

Ovid is narrating the *aitrov* of the honour paid to the ass during the Vestalia. By connecting Vesta and Priapus he is able to construct a *multi fabula parva ioci*, finding at the same time the reason for the Roman regard for the ass and the sacrifice of that animal at Lampsacus. The scheme of this fable is the same as that of Priapus and Lotis (I. 391-440), for which it probably formed the model. Priapus was foiled by the braying of the ass:

343 territa voce gravi surgit dea, convolat  
omnis  
turba: per infestas effugit ille manus.  
345 Lampsacos hoc animal solita est mactare  
Priapo

<sup>1</sup> It was the number not the mode of flight which was important. Each vulture signified a *saeculum*. Professor Housman's 'Roma supremas desperavit avis' (*Carm. Bucol. Einsidl.* II. 34; see *C.Q.* IV. 1, p. 47) is certain. On the subject of these auguries, see S. Reinach, *Une prédiction accomplie*, in *C.M.R.* III. pp. 302-310.

346 apta asini flammis indicis exta damus  
quem tu, diva, memor de pane monilibus  
ornas:  
cessat opus, vacuae contiguere molae.

The MSS. are practically agreed on lines 345, 346. A few inferior codices have *Hinc asini* in 346, and I have found this in many of the early editions. The *Ed. Venet. Rubei* (1474) has *Lampsacos hunc soli solita est*, which appears also in the Gryphian text.

Heinsius characterised the distich as spurious 'ab aliquo homine male feriato hic praeter rem inculcatum.' Burman, Cnipping, Merkel (Teub. ed.) bracket the lines. Burman had some qualms, for he saw that if we omit the lines, *Quem* (347) must refer to Silenus (*sic*). Riese, Davies, Peter, and others accept the distich as it stands. Now the lines cannot be omitted; omit them, and *quem* must refer to *ille* in 344, and Priapus will become a Bottom. Moreover we require an explicit statement of the *aitrov* of the sacrifice. Finally, Lactantius paraphrases this very couplet: 'apud Lampsacum Priapo litabilis victima est asellus cuius ratio in *Fastis* haec redditur' (*Inst.* I. 21, 25 Brandt). Lactantius narrates the assault on Vesta, and proceeds (27) 'hac de causa Lampsacenos asellum Priapo, quasi in ultionem, mactare consuevisse: apud Romanos verum eundem Vestalibus sacris in honorem pudicitiae conservatae, panibus coronari.'

But we cannot accept the couplet as it stands. A statement that 'We (*i.e.* the Romans) sacrifice asses to Priapus' is not only false but stultifies Ovid's story. Madvig (*Adv.* II. p. 108) suggested *L. h. a. s. e. m. Priapo fata: asini f. i. e. damus.* Bergk (*op.* I. 664 ff.) proposed *L. hinc a. s. e. m. Priapo, a. a. f. i. e. domans.* Burman had already suggested *L. hinc a. s. hoc m. Priapo: hinc asini f. i. e. damus.* Ehwald and Peter commend Bergk's *hinc animal* (it really belongs to Burman), but are not satisfied with the proposed corrections of line 346. *Hoc* seems to be sound, cf. I. 439, II. 473 *hoc genus (=piscis)*, IV. 711 *gens haec (=vulpes)*. Apart from the absurd *damus* there are other objections to the pentameter: (1) the elision is suspicious; (2) the position of *asini*

is strange—it intervenes between *apta* and its construct, and compels one to think of, if not to translate, 'the flames of the tell-tale ass.' If we can draw any inference from the following line, *diva . . . ornas* suggests a *deus* whose action is expressed by a verb in the present tense. I think it not impossible that Ovid wrote:

Lampsacos hoc animal solita est mactare  
Priapo:  
apta putat flammis indicis exta deus.  
quem tu, diva, memor de pane monilibus  
ornas.

Accidents were sure to happen to *apta*  
*putat*: it might become *aptat*, *apulat*,

*aputa* (is there a trace of this in E's *apata*?), or simply *apta*. The blank was filled by the gloss *asini*, which belonged to *indicis*. A verb was required in place of the defunct *putat*, and a copyist took it on himself to change *deus* to *damus*; he may have regarded *ds* as a legitimate contraction of *damus* in this line.

I do not know if attention has been called to the fact that to Ovid the unforgivable sin was tattling; he inveighs again and again against this vice in the *Fasti* and *Metamorphoses* (cf. *Am. l.c.*). E. H. ALTON.

(To be continued.)

#### NOTES ON THE *LYDIA*.

THERE can be no reasonable doubt that the poem which follows the *Dirae* in MSS. is indeed the 'Lydia doctorum maxima cura liber,' the famous work of that teacher whom Bibaculus called 'unicum magistrum, summum grammaticum, optimum poetam,' that Professor of Poetry who had the *novi poetae* (and Virgil too) for his pupils, who introduced Alexandrian versification to Roman literature, the great 'Cato grammaticus, Latina Siren, qui solus legit ac facit poetas.' In the first place, as has often been remarked, no rival or imitator would steal the name Lydia for the heroine. That name was by literary convention the property of Valerius Cato as much as 'Highland Mary' is the inalienable property of Burns. And further, the *Lydia* is eminently a professorial poem, packed with illustrations of the new mannerisms which Cato taught to his class, e.g.: (1) Σπονδαίζοντες, 33, 47, 67, (2) Transposition of *que*, 71 *tristi turpabatque mala fuligine barbam* (for '*tristi malaque turpabat*'), (3) Parentheses, 18 (*currite lymphae*), 27. Just as the *Dirae* with its parentheses (e.g. *Dir. 96 mec. mor.*), (4) Parataxis, *Dir. 41* (*non iterum dices, crebro 'tua Lydia' dixti*), and so on. The last mentioned line (along with *Dir. 89, 95*) shows us that the arrangement of the two poems in MSS. was alphabetical, not chronological. The *Lydia* was composed before the *Dirae* and was the first attempt

to reproduce in Latin the 'linked sweetness' of the Alexandrian Pastoral, that recurrent cadence imitative of a shepherd's flutings, as in the Scotch song 'I've heard them liltin' at our ewe-milking, Lasses a' liltin' before dawn of day.' That is the effect Cato aims at by his repetition of *formosa* (1-2 *Invideo vobis, agri formosaeque prata, Hoc formosa magis mea quod formosa puella*, etc.), of *dulcis* (57-60), of the syllable *aur* (26-28), by the *Lydia ludit* (4). The Greek bucolic caesura indeed he uses only once (in line 18), as sparingly as Virgil (*dic mihi, Damoeta, cuium pecus?* [an *Meliboei*?]). It must have been unsuitable to the Latin hexameter, for Cato avoids monotony of rhythm and exhibits a great variety in his eighty lines. But the 'echo-lines' (e.g. *invideo vobis agri 1, 8, 20; cf. 24, 41; cf. 59, 65*), that represent in words the recurrent theme of melody, are in the Greek pastoral style, and even the boorish jest in line 69. The *Lydia* is the most careful and finished of poems. We should admire it more if Virgil had never written the *Eclogues*.

In line 3 Cato may possibly (though Virgil would not) have begun with the interjection *st* (persistently written *est* in MSS.) 'I envy you, fields and meadows fair, the more fair that 'tis to you my fair—hush!—is sighing low her love for me.' At any rate *vobis suspirat amorem* has the same construction as 30 (*silvis*

mugire dolorem). Heinsius' *in* (est MSS.) *vobis* is adopted by Vollmer, who also alters the traditional text at 22 and 68, finding the transition of thought too abrupt. But since 21 ends *mea quae fuit ante voluptas*, there is no need of *mihi* (a word like *nunc* would have a better claim) in 22: 'at male (*mihi* Vollmer) tabescunt morientia membra dolore.' And in 68 *grandia* is so suitable to the Queen of Heaven that the only change needed is *braccia* for *gaudia*, a change confirmed by Catullus' imitation (64, 332) of the same original: 'levia substernens robusto braccia collo.' It is hardly possible that the *gaudia* of the MSS. can be right, an imitation of some novel word used by Callimachus; although more than one curious expression in the poem seems due to a Greek original, e.g. 63 (of metamorphosis) 'Iuppiter ante, sui semper mendacia factus'; 80 ('a shadow of my former self') 'ut maneam quod vix oculis cognoscere possis.' In 43 *laurus* must, I suppose, be printed *Laurus* 'of Daphne': 'Phoebe, gerens in te Laurus celebrabis amorem'; and the 'gerens in te,' supported by 45 'secum sua gaudia gestat,' seems to suggest a myth that a sun halo (or the like) was Daphne, as the 'man in the moon' was Endymion, 41.

The pretty passage about the Moon and the Sun has received a new charm from Dr. Mackail. Everyone knows ('nisi silvis Fama locuta est') the suggestion in his Oxford lectures that a 'Volkslied' underlies 41-42 (Luna, tuus tecum est; cur non est et mea tecum? Luna, dolor nosti quid sit; miserere dolentis) 'Luna, tuus est ut tecum, cur non est et mea tecum? Luna, quid sit dolor sentis; miserere tu dolentis.' This charming contribution from one Professor of Poetry to another has, I hope, come to stay. Severe accuracy will frown it away, for this type of 'Volkslied' is rather medieval than pre-Augustan; but it adds to the pleasure of the reader, and

the *Lydia* was written merely to please. The passage begins with a description of the sky after sunset (39): 'sidera per viridem redeunt cum pallida mundum' (*mundus* 'sky' again in 46), after which we should, I think, read (40): 'inque vicem Phoebo curres aequae aureus orbis (*Phoebe currens atque* edd.)' The omission of *est* in 44 (et quae pompa deum 'and all the Pantheon') finds a parallel in 76 (infelix ego, non illo qui tempore natus); so no alteration is needed. But *illi* in line 70 must be altered to *illic* ('in officina'), unless there is a change of subject (id illi?) from *Volcanus* to *opus*; and in line 45 *scitis* has become *sitis*, then *estis*, 'you, my readers, know all these stories of mythology.'

The poem has not been too severely handled by time, and the (comparative) accuracy of its tradition gives a palaeographer little chance of guessing at its 'Ueberlieferungsgeschichte.' An interchange of *f* and *v* always points to a Spanish (rather than Italian or French) scribe; but we do not find it at line 61. For *impia vota* (if it really has been substituted for *invida fata*) would be the scribe's reminiscence of the recurrent phrase in the *Dirae* which he had just been transcribing. And in line 79 *vita* ('my love, my life,' i.e., *Lydia*) should not be altered to *fata*. Ellis, who assigns this meaning to *vita*, also retains *impia vota*.

For convenience, I append a list of the alterations (not all new) here proposed of Vollmer's (the latest) text: 22 male (not 'mihi'); 40 Phoebo curres aequae (not 'Phoebe currens atque'); 43 Laurus (not 'laurus'); 44 quae (not 'qua est'), silvis (not 'vilis'); 45 scitis (not 'estis'); 65 (delete full stop at end); 68 grandia (not 'Cypria'); 71 turpabatque mala (not 'turpabat malam ac'); 79 vita (not 'Fata'). Can *que* in line 48 be used for *quoque*?

W. M. LINDSAY.

HORACE (*SERMONES*, I. 6. 126).

figuio { rabido si tempore signi. D  
cāpū lusitq. trigonem. G  
Campum lusumque trigonem V  
rabiosi (rapiosi R) tempora signi cell.

SINCE Bentley the editors have almost unanimously<sup>1</sup> adopted, with or without some slight modification, the reading of V. Further, there has been a tendency to consider the sharp divergence between VG (representing class B = Mr. Garrod's β) on the one hand and the rest of the MSS. (including class A = α) on the other hand, so marked as to suggest the possibility that we have here traces of an after-thought introduced by Horace himself in a second edition. A, it is argued, represents the first and B the second thoughts of the writer. 'The two readings cannot be corruptions of one and the same original.' This belief was questioned by Palmer,<sup>2</sup> but only in a half-hearted way.

My object in what follows is to press the point which Palmer raised, and to show, as I think it can be shown almost to demonstration, that the 'archetypes' of the two classes, A and B, differing far less than their descendants, read respectively, (1) 'fugio rabido si temporis igni' A, and (2) 'fugio rapidum si temporis ignem' B.

(1) The text of D has been vitiated (a) by the alteration of one letter only, and (b) by a 'prava continuatio verborum,' the exact counterpart of which is to be found in the oldest extant MS. of Horace, *Bernensis* 363 (which unfortunately fails us in the *Satires* after i. 3. 134), at *Carm.* iv. 2. 19, where for 'centum potiore signis munere donat' it has (see the Leyden photographic reproduction) 'centum potiores ignis' *e.g.s.* D in fact divided its original TEMPORISIGNI wrongly, and made the common mistake of changing an *i* to an *e*. Otherwise its text is tenable. The ablative without a preposition is bold, but not, I take it, impossible. If it were, either *si a temporis* or *rabidos-*

ignis might be proposed. 'Rabiosi tempora signi' represents a futile attempt to correct the text of D: the original error is kept and others are added to it.

(2) I have taken D as the least corrupt member of the A family; in regard to the B family it is better to deal with the text of G—which we have—rather than with that of V, which we have lost, and of which there remains only Cruquius' report. Here it is to be noted that, in minuscule, confusion between *ul* and *id* is easy and not infrequent; and we must also remember that hardly any error is more common than the omission or addition of the conjunction 'que.'<sup>3</sup> But 'capacis' and 'rapacis' are confused in the MSS. of Ovid at *Metamorphosis* 8. 243; and, bearing these points in mind, we see that 'cāpū lusitq. trigonem' may not improbably be derived from 'rapidū sit[q.] trigonem.' Now 'trigonem' is uncommonly like 'ignem,' preceded by some compendium—say 'tis' (*cf.* Prou's *Manuel*, p. 331)—for 'temporis'; and when the specialists assure us that the B class of MSS. had undergone emendation at the hands of a learned scribe,<sup>4</sup> I confess that, with the collateral evidence of the A class reading to guide us, it seems to me more than likely that the original reading of the B class was 'fugio rapidum si temporis ignem.'<sup>5</sup>

Instances of confusion in MSS. between 'rapidus' and 'rabidus' are

<sup>3</sup> Very striking instances occur in Ovid, *Met.* 5. 386 and 669. *Cf.* also Lucretius 5. 342, and the Vergilian *Catalepton* 1. 1 and 3. In *Sat.* i. 5. 37 read, perhaps, 'In <que>' Mamurrarum. A conjunction is needed, and there is no reason why Horace should have lengthened the first *a* which in Catullus is short.

<sup>4</sup> See note 6 *infra*. 'The second class' [*i.e.* the B class] 'they' [*i.e.* Keller and Holder] 'hold to have come from a good codex, but one which, being illegible in places, was corrected by a learned man, the emendations in this class being rather of a rhetorical or poetical character than grammatical' (Palmer, p. xxxvii). The mention of the 'trigon' appears to involve an anachronism, as if an editor should introduce an allusion to 'pingpong' in the text of Præd.

<sup>5</sup> 'Si,' on the assumption that the *t* (in 'sit') comes by dittography from 'temporis'; 'si' and 'sit' are confused in the MSS. at *Epp.* i. 3. 30 and 16. 54.

<sup>1</sup> Keller and Holder, followed by Dillenburger, keep 'rabiosi tempora signi': but see Palmer, *op. cit.*, p. 207.

<sup>2</sup> Horace, *Satires* (1905), p. 38. See also Holder and Dr. Gow.



as plentiful as blackberries. Very much to the point here is Ovid, *Metam.* viii. 225, where, against the 'rapidi vicinia solis' of the majority, one good MS., *Parisinus* 8001 (*olim* Berneggeranus), offers us 'rabidi vicinia solis.' Horace himself prefers the epithet 'rapidus' at *Carm.* ii. 9. 12.

The 'time' ('tempus') is the time of day (*cf.* the 'amicum tempus' of *Carm.* iii. 6. 44). The punctuation will need modification—a comma, not a full-stop, at the end of the line. Then the whole—commonplace—paragraph will run thus:

ad quam iaceo. post hanc vagor (aut ego  
lecto  
aut scripto quod me tacitum iuvat ungor  
olivo . . .)  
ast ubi me fessum sol acrior ire lavatum  
admonuit, fugio <sup>rabido si temporis igni,</sup>  
<sup>rapidum si temporis ignem,</sup>  
pransus non avide, quantum interpellat inani  
ventre diem durare, domesticus otior.

'After the fourth hour first a stroll (or the alternative), then the bath; then—if I want to take cover from the heat of the day, if, that is to say, like Sybaris, I feel "impatiens pulveris atque solis"—then a light lunch and an afternoon at home.'

If this theory is right, the trouble arose partly from a blurred original, in which the last two words were not easily decipherable, and partly perhaps from some doubt in the scribe's mind in connexion with the rare use of 'ignis' for 'aestus,' which we need not stay to illustrate here.

In conclusion, let me stress three points:

(a) The evidence of the numerous ancient scholiasts—Acron, Porphyron,

and the rest—cited by Keller and Holder *ad loc.*: (i.) Not one of them knew or recognised the 'Campum . . . trigonem' reading. (ii.) The notes of all (with their references to the dog-star) are consistent with the view that their texts had 'rabido (*sive* rapidum) . . . temporis igni (*sive* ignem),' and that they took 'temporis' to denote the dog-days—*i.e.* the time of year instead of the time of day—a natural error.

(b) But for the change of a single letter (and that only an *i* for an *e*) 'rabido si temporis igni' is the lection of a representative MS. of the *a* class, in regard to which Mr. Garrod (S.C.B.O., *Praefat.*) writes: 'stirpem *a* generi alteri longe praestare et ab *a* precario discedi Horatianae criseos prima lex.'

(c) The  $\beta$  variant (offered by GV), far from being, as is commonly asserted, something *sui generis*, distinct and divergent, does admit of explanation, almost stroke for stroke,<sup>1</sup> as a variant (an easy and perhaps a preferable variant) from the text of the other family.

This is a strong case. Surely—in spite of Bentley and his flock—the 'bright jewel' of V is only paste after all? But—remembering Mr. Wells's 'Dedication' to his critics—I ask the question with all due diffidence and restraint.

<sup>1</sup> At Juvenal vi. 93 P has 'ignium changed to Ionium' (Duff). Here V's exemplar had *ionem* corrected to *ignem*: hence (see Lindsay on Martial xi. 106. 1) 'igonem,' which, preceded by the compendium for 'temporis,' might only too easily give rise to the anachronistic 'trigonem.' At *Ars Poetica* 393 the B class (*i.e.* VB) have 'rabidos' as against the 'rapidos' of the rest.

D. A. SLATER.

## TWO VIRGILIAN BIRD-NOTES.

### AENEID X. 262 FF.

clamorem ad sidera tollunt  
Dardanidae e muris, spes addita suscitatur iras,  
tela manu iaciunt, quales sub nubibus atris  
Strymoniae dant signa grues atque aethera  
tranant  
cum sonitu, fugiuntque Notos clamore secundo.

THERE has been trouble about this passage owing to the word 'Notos,' which is usually supposed to mean a

stormy wind from the south; thus the cranes are imagined to be flying northwards on their spring migration, though this is by no means implied in the parallel passage in *Iliad* iii. 4 ff. But birds in spring are not apt to fly before storms; they wait for fine weather, and profit by it when they get it.

This does not matter for the general sense, for the point of the simile is of

course the comparison between the noise made by the birds as they fly, evidently a cheerful noise, and the *hopeful* shouts of the Trojans when they see the great shield of Aeneas on the leading ship. Mr. Page's word *exultant* is, I think, a little too strong, but as usual he seizes the real point of the passage—*e.g.*, he notes that Virgil mentions thrice the noise of the cranes: 'dant signa, cum sonitu, clamore secundo.' 'Dant signa' simply means, I think, that they are calling to each other, after the manner of flocking birds, not, as Henry thought, providing omens of bad weather, which would falsify the simile.

There would be no difficulty if it were not assumed that the cranes are on migration. I used to think so myself (see *A Year with the Birds*, chap. vii.), but I now believe that they are conceived by Virgil as simply flying before a big black local storm, as they certainly are in *Georgic* i. 373:

nunquam imprudentibus imber  
obfuit; aut illum surgentem vallibus imis  
aeriae fugere grues . . .

Both passages suggest to me the sudden appearance of a storm in the Mediterranean region; the words *sub nubibus atris* especially point to the deep black clouds of a thunderstorm.<sup>1</sup> Cranes, let us note, move about like our rooks or starlings, which also often fly before a storm, or on their way to rest. Canon Tristram, whose knowledge of Mediterranean birds was both extensive and accurate, writes as follows: "In the southern wilderness, south of Beersheba, the cranes resort in immense flocks to certain favourite roosting-places during the winter. . . . Their whooping and trumpeting enlivened the watches of the night, and till dawn we could hear the flocks passing overhead on their way to their quarters close by."<sup>2</sup> It would be interesting to know whether any of our officers on the front from Gaza to Beersheba has made similar observations.

I may add a word about 'Notos.' The true Latin word for the south wind is 'Auster,' as may be clearly seen in Pliny's elaborate account of the winds (*N.H.* ii. 119 ff.). 'Notus' is a Greek

word (see *Iliad* xvi. 765, or Strabo, bk. i., p. 62), and has in Latin a less definite meaning than in Greek. On *Aen.* i. 575 Servius notes that 'Notus' may either be *any wind*, or the true 'Notus' which blows from the Syrtes to Carthage—that is, south-east. In xii. 334 the horses of Mars in Thrace 'ante Notos Zephyrumque volant.' The plural as Virgil uses it in this passage and x. 266, points perhaps to local and gusty winds. One or two passages of Propertius also suggest this, though he uses the singular: *e.g.*, ii. 5-11 ff.:

non ita Carpathiae variant Aquilonibus undae,  
nec dubio nubes vertitur atra Noto,  
quam facile irati verbo mutantur amantes:

Here we have a black storm-cloud again associated with 'Notus.' In book ii. 9, 34 we have another comparison of 'Notus' with the fickleness of lovers; and in iv. 6, 28 we find *iratos Notos*. The poet's idea of the wind seems to have been that it was sudden, stormy, and fickle, by no means such a wind as blows steadily from any one quarter. I think, then, that Virgil uses the word in this same sense, and that the cranes are not going steadily on migration either in spring or in autumn, but simply changing their feeding-grounds on account of a local storm.

#### AEN. XI. 271 FF.: DIOMEDEAE AVES.

nunc etiam horribili visu portenta sequuntur,  
et socii amissi petierunt aethera pennis,  
fluminibusque vagantur aves (heu dira meorum  
supplicia!) et scopulos lacrimosis vocibus im-  
plent.

Latinus had sent an embassy to Diomedes in Apulia to ask him for help against the Trojans; and in the course of his reply Diomedes brings in one of the favourite old Mediterranean legends of the metamorphosis of human beings into animals. He himself, he says, was driven into exile after the fall of Troy, and his companions were changed into birds. In the story he reached the coast of Apulia between the Aufidus and the promontory of Garganus, where his comrades suffered this fate. At the end of Heyne's commentary on *Aen.* xi. there is a very learned excursus on this legend and its various forms, and those who wish to examine it as a whole will do well to consult him. I am here only

<sup>1</sup> Cf. ix. 668 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Nat. Hist. of the Bible*, p. 240.

concerned with one feature of it—the miraculous change into birds, and the inviting question what birds these were, which I am inclined to think I can answer with some confidence. Heyne has laboured hard to do so, diving into ancient and modern zoological writers from Pliny and Aelian to Aldrovandus and Willughby.<sup>1</sup> Unluckily this really learned man was not an ornithologist, and missed the one almost certain clue we have to the identification of these birds.

Strabo (vi. p. 284) tells us that there were two small islands off the promontory of Garganus; one was inhabited, the other desolate, and in this latter were the birds of Diomedes even in his own day—i.e., a little later than Virgil's lifetime. About these birds Pliny has an interesting passage, which is taken from Juba the learned king of Numidia, who lived about the same time as Strabo. Here are Pliny's words:<sup>2</sup>

And I will not omit the birds of Diomedes, which Juba calls Cataractae, telling us that they have teeth and fire-coloured eyes, but otherwise are white. They always have two captains, one to lead the band, the other to bring up the rear. *These birds dig furrows with the beak, then cover them with wattlework, and hide this with the earth thrown out at first; in these places they breed.* Each furrow has two openings, one facing east, by which they may go out towards their feeding-grounds, the other facing west, by which they may return. They always flutter out to disburden the belly, and against the wind. In one place only of the whole world are they to be seen—namely, that island which we have set

down as famous for the tomb and shrine of Diomedes, over against the shore of Apulia.

Stripped of a few freaks of fancy, this account is credible in one important point, namely, *that these birds nested in holes or burrows.* The only sea-bird of the Mediterranean which does this is the representative in that basin of our own Manx Shearwater, of which the burrowing habit has been often described by British ornithologists. These Shearwaters (*Puffinus kuhli*) have the habit of frequenting small islands off a coast, and are not uncommon in such places on the Italian coast and elsewhere; I well remember seeing them in the Straits of Bonifacio, where there are many small islands. In his book on the birds of Italy Professor Giglioli mentions several places in which they are found, and says that in Istria they still bear the name Artena, by which the birds of Diomedes seem to have been known in the sixteenth century (Heyne, p. 621).<sup>1</sup> It would be interesting to know whether the Shearwaters nest at the present day in the islands off the coast of Apulia, but Giglioli has nothing to tell us about this.

I will only add that the Shearwater seems to have acquired a ghostly reputation in the eastern Mediterranean. 'From their restless habits and dark sombre plumage they are believed by the Moslems to be tenanted by the souls of the condemned,' says Tristram, *Nat. Hist. of Bible*, p. 211; and in another place he speaks of them as 'the mysterious ghost-birds of the Bosporus.' Can this be a survival of the same old form of legend which we find in the story of the birds of Diomedes? I think it possible that the real reason for this ghostly reputation may be found in the dismal noises made by the Shearwaters, especially at night. 'The keepers said they heard them at night making a noise 'like a child sobbing in trouble.' Another described the noise

<sup>1</sup> He also refers to a writer unknown to me—Vervard, *Account of Divers Choice Remarks made in a Journey*, p. 359 (1701)—but adds 'sed nec is scientia naturae satis fuit instructus.'

<sup>2</sup> Pliny x. 126-7. The translation is that of our oldest English ornithologist, William Turner, whose work was edited by Mr. A. H. Evans at Cambridge in 1903. The original Latin of the important sentence is as follows: 'scrobes excavare rostro, inde crate consternere et operire terra quae ante fuerit egesta: in his fetificare.' My friend, Mr. O. V. Aplin, described the nesting of our Shearwater in the *Zoologist* for 1902, p. 16: 'They breed chiefly in a steep grassy cliff . . . some in holes under the rocks, where they emerge from the turf; others in long clefts in and winding passages among the rocks.' This was in Bardsey Island, North Wales. In St. Kilda the birds make their own burrows, as they seem to have done in Italy, but if they find a rabbit-burrow to hand they use it (Seebohm, *Eggs of British Birds*, p. 72).

<sup>1</sup> Willughby (edited by Ray) has a chapter on the 'Artenna of the Tremiti Islands,' which comes through Aldrovandus from Gesner, who seems to have seen a specimen. Aldrovandus' description suits the Shearwater very fairly well: upper parts dusky or dark ash, under parts white, bill hooked, size that of a 'good corpulent hen.'

as sounding like a deep-drawn out repetition of the words 'it's your fault,' the emphasis on the word 'your' (Forrest's *Fauna of North Wales*, p. 415).

The word 'fluminibus' in Virgil's lines suggests that the birds did not

confine themselves to islands, but might stray up rivers, e.g. the Aufidus, and this is true of the Shearwaters. Professor Giglioli says that one was taken at Terni in Central Italy in 1877.

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### THE INDICATIVE IN RELATIVE CLAUSES.

PROFESSOR J. A. SMITH has raised a question as to the use of the indicative mood in relative clauses (*C.R.* for May and June, 1917, pp. 69-71), and appealed to those who have made a special study of Greek syntax for an answer. Is it possible for a relative clause with the simple  $\delta\varsigma$  and an indicative to express generality? No answer has yet appeared, so I feel moved to attempt one. Professor Smith has been guided by Goodwin, and I do not wonder that the use of the terms 'indefinite' and 'definite' in the *Moods and Tenses* (§§ 515-518 and succeeding sections) should have given rise to difficulties. Goodwin nowhere defines these terms; for I cannot regard it as a definition to say that a 'definite antecedent' is found where the relative pronoun refers to a *definite* person, thing, time, or place, and an 'indefinite antecedent' where the relative pronoun refers to an *indefinite* person, thing, etc. What is a definite person (thing, time, or place)? I suppose by 'definite' Goodwin means 'having clearly marked features of its own, so that it may be recognised with certainty,' like a picture with clearly marked outlines. But surely there may be all degrees of definiteness in this sense. 'John Smith' stands for a very definite person to me if I know him; so too 'my wife.' 'Your wife' is something less definite to me. Still more indefinite is the subject of the main clause in 'The man whom I saw arrested seemed to be a foreigner; but I could not see his face or hear what he said.' More indefinite still is the subject of 'The man (or A man) who has no music in his soul,' etc. How about 'Whoever has no music in his soul?' Is that more indefinite than 'The (or A) man who,' etc., or is it

not? Perhaps I may be told that questions are of the nature of those objectionable ones which 'would upset any theology.' But they force themselves upon any reader of Goodwin who tries to see how his rules apply. Why, for instance, does he put Demosthenes *De F. L.* (§ 262) under the definite category? The meaning of  $\tau\eta\nu\iota\kappa\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha\ \delta\tau\epsilon\ \o\upsilon\delta\delta'\ \delta\ \tau\iota\ \chi\rho\eta\ \pi\omicron\iota\epsilon\iota\nu\ \epsilon\acute{\zeta}\epsilon\tau\epsilon$  is 'at a time when you will not even be able to do what you ought,' the time of this event being surely as much unknown as that in 'The day will come when sacred Troy will (shall) fall,'  $\delta\tau'\ \alpha\nu\ \pi\omicron\tau'\ \delta\lambda\omega\lambda\eta\ \tau\iota\lambda\omicron\varsigma\ \iota\epsilon\rho\acute{\eta}$  (*Il.* IV. 164), where the construction of the relative clause is quite different. It is in connexion with the last two of the above-mentioned types of sentence that Professor Smith's question arises, and it relates particularly to the interpretation of Plato, *Rep.* X. 596 A,  $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\ \epsilon\kappa\alpha\sigma\tau\alpha\ \tau\grave{\alpha}\ \pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}\ \o\iota\varsigma\ \tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu\ \delta\nu\omicron\mu\alpha\ \epsilon\pi\iota\tau\iota\theta\epsilon\mu\epsilon\nu$ . Can this mean 'in connexion with each group of particulars to which we apply the same name' (Adam's translation)? Now a reference to examples like those contained in Goodwin, *M.T.* § 534, would not answer Professor Smith's question. Nor would examples like the following, which naturally suggest themselves:  $\text{'}\o\upsilon\nu\ \o\iota\ \theta\epsilon\o\iota\ \phi\iota\lambda\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\nu\ \alpha\pi\omicron\theta\omicron\nu\eta\sigma\kappa\omicron\iota\ \nu\epsilon\o\varsigma\text{'}$  (Menander, quoted by Stobaeus, *Flor.* 120. 8).  $\text{'}\nu\epsilon\o\varsigma\ \delta'\ \alpha\pi\omicron\delta\lambda\lambda\upsilon\theta'\ \delta\nu\tau\iota\nu\alpha\ \phi\iota\lambda\epsilon\iota\ \theta\epsilon\o\varsigma\text{'}$  (Stobaeus 120. 13), which, whether metrical or not, is at any rate good Greek for  $\delta\nu\tau\iota\nu'\ \alpha\nu\ \phi\iota\lambda\eta\ \theta\epsilon\o\varsigma$ .  $\text{'}\o\lambda\beta\iota\omicron\varsigma\ \delta\varsigma\ \tau\acute{\alpha}\delta'\ \delta\pi\omega\pi\epsilon,\text{'}$  etc. (*Homeric Hymn* II. 480-2).  $\text{'}\o\lambda\beta\iota\omicron\varsigma\ \delta\sigma\tau\iota\varsigma\ \iota\delta\omega\nu\ \epsilon\kappa\epsilon\iota\nu\alpha\ \kappa\o\iota\lambda\alpha\nu\ \epsilon\iota\sigma\iota\nu\ \upsilon\pi\omicron\delta\ \chi\theta\omicron\nu\alpha\text{'}$  (Pindar, *Frag.* 8). For Professor Smith's query relates to instances which have an antecedent expressed, like  $\epsilon\kappa\alpha\sigma\tau\alpha\ \tau\grave{\alpha}\ \pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}$  in the *Republic* passage.



This antecedent is to be defined by a clause introduced by *ὅς* (not *ὅστις*). Such an antecedent will necessarily be *incomplete*, as needing definition; in other words, it will be in one sense indefinite (*i.e.* undefined). In such cases it is usual in English to use no comma before the relative pronoun. But Greek sentences like 'This is the house that Jack built' would not be to the point; for the antecedent of the relative must apply to all or everyone of a class. I have not made any systematic search for Greek examples having these characteristics, but I suggest that instances like the following might easily be multiplied: (1) Plato *Gorg.* 450 B *ἐκάστη αὐτῶν περὶ λόγους ἐστὶ τούτους οἱ τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες περὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα οὐ ἐκάστη ἐστὶν ἡ τέχνη*. Here there are *two* examples, and they may be contrasted with *ταύτην ῥητορικὴν καλεῖς ἢ ἄν ? περὶ λόγους* (*ibid.*, below); Jowett's translation makes no difference between the clauses with the indicative and the clause with the subjunctive. (2) *Phaedo* 65 E *αὐτὸ ἕκαστον περὶ οὐ σκοπεῖ*. (3) Soph. *Ajax* 812 *ἄνδρα γ' ὃς σπεύδει θανεῖν*, where English would have the *indefinite* article, 'a man, who is bent on death.'<sup>1</sup> An example with

<sup>1</sup> I agree with Professor Platt (*C.Q.* V. p. 28) in reading *σπεύδει* (not *σπεύδῃ*), but not for the reason which he gives, viz. that *ἄνδρα* =

the negative *μή* may be even more conclusive: Plato *Rep.* 605 E *τοιοῦτον ἄνδρα οἷον ἐαυτὸν τις μὴ ἀξιοῖ εἶναι*. It is a curious fact that examples to the point are in grammars conspicuous by their absence; it would seem that they have been thought to need no notice. But I am inclined to agree with what Mr. A. C. Pearson says in the *Classical Quarterly* for April of this year (pp. 66, 67), that in the interests of clearness a more exact classification of relative clauses is required. Among other things we must consider whether the character of the antecedent as either *incomplete* (in the sense indicated above) or *self-contained* (as, for example, when it is a proper name) is of importance for the grammatical construction of the relative clause; and we may well raise the question whether the distinction of 'definite' or 'indefinite' ought not to be replaced by something a little less *indefinite*.

E. A. SONNENSCHIEIN.

Ajax. A clause with the indicative may follow an incomplete antecedent just as well as an antecedent which is self-contained, though its function differs in the two cases. With Jebb's note in support of *σπεύδῃ* compare his note on 1160 of the same play, where he rightly prefers the indicative. The two passages are parallel—the one with, the other without, an antecedent expressed.

## NOTES

### THE TITLE OF ISIDORE'S ETYMOLOGIES.

PROFESSOR ANSPACH, who is to edit Isidore for the Vienna series (but when?) has declared (*Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 1912, col. 1628) that the time-honoured alternative title of Isidore's great encyclopaedia, *Origines*, should be dropped, and the more cumbrous title substituted, *de Origine Quarundam Rerum*. Why? Because, in a preface written for the (abortive?) publication of the work in Sisebut's reign, Isidore thus describes its nature and contents: 'en tibi, sicut pollicitus sum, misi opus de origine quarundam rerum,' etc.

I would enter a caveat against discarding the familiar *Origines*, if no better argument can be found. For an author's account of a book in a letter to a friend is one thing, the title under which he handed the manuscript over to the bookseller is another. To take one example out of many, Cicero writes about his *Academics* to Atticus (13, 16, 1): 'illam ἀκαδημαϊκὴν σύνταξιν totam ad Varronem traduximus.' But who would dream of arguing that this Greek phrase was the title (or a title) which Cicero assigned to the book or by which his friends and contemporaries referred to it?

Let me take this opportunity of asking

anyone who has a copy of the Oxford edition of Isidore's *Etymologiae* (sive *Origines*) to correct an extraordinary mistake in its first line of text. The prefatory Epistle A should begin *dum amici litteras*.

W. M. LINDSAY.

### PORTUS ITIUS.

ON re-reading recently Dr. Rice Holmes' argument in *Ancient Britain* for the identification of Portus Itius with Boulogne, it occurred to me that the apparently most improbable point in that theory has an almost exact parallel in modern times. He believed that to the native settlement of Gesoriacum (or rather to its harbour) the Romans first gave the name Portus Itius, indicating the spot as *the* port of the district,

and later the name Bononia, which was brought from Italy, though not strictly Latin. The theory involves the supposition that the term Portus Itius died out, while the other two names lasted on together for a time, till Bononia finally alone survived, and has remained to this day. So to the locality called by the natives Tekwini we have given the name, first of Port Natal, and then of Durban, which, though not English but French in origin, is an importation from Europe; and while the Zulu word is known, not by Kaffirs only, but by many Europeans on the spot, 'Port Natal' is to-day rarely used there, and in England it is hard to find, in ordinary company, people who know that Port Natal and Durban are identical.

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## REVIEWS

### HISTORY OF ANCIENT COINAGE, 700-800 B.C.

*History of Ancient Coinage, 700-300 B.C.*

By PERCY GARDNER, Litt.D., Professor of Classical Archaeology in Oxford. Pp. xii+463. Clarendon Press, 1918.

IF in the near future we are to expect an improvement in Classical teaching with corresponding increase of interest in the ancient learning, then Professor Gardner's work on Greek coinage is a timely publication. His previously published essays on the Ionic Revolt and on the earliest issues of Hellas Proper had thrown such a welcome flood of light upon difficult and complex problems, that the announcement of the larger work seemed perhaps to raise our hopes to a dangerous height: they were not, however, doomed to disappointment.

Experts will find plenty of important suggestions to ponder over: but the real merit of the new volume lies in its method. It is not too much to say that, for those who merely regard numismatics as a branch of general archaeology or rather as a necessary

adjunct to the study of ancient history, the book will mark an epoch. It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of placing the whole subject of Greek coinage in a new and clear light. Previously it was extremely difficult or impossible for the outsider or novice to get any proper grasp of numismatic facts or their bearings upon the broad flood of history. The facts indeed were there in great number—too great, for it was impossible to see the forest for the trees. The 'Historia Numorum' was a mine of information, not narrowly regarding coins only; but then you necessarily found little or no co-ordination between the facts relating to individual city states. Everything was detached, everything far to seek. Head attended to his own business, which was numismatics: Dr. Gardner, no mean numismatist, is above all the historian—and one withal who combines judgment with imagination to a quite unusual degree. And so he has for the first time treated the subject as a simple and organic unity.

We find two outstanding features in

this work. First of all the writer attacks the really difficult problems—those connected with the east and north-east of the Aegean area. Previously he had cleared away the fogs that surrounded the origin and early history of money in the Greek mainland and especially in Athens, which had seemed before he wrote to present almost insoluble difficulty. But the perplexity, the confusion, the haziness in which the coinage of Asia Minor and Thrace had appeared to be enveloped was something indescribably bad: it was little wonder that the ordinary student of Greek and Greek history found himself excused from the obligation of trying to pierce for himself this appalling region of *plus-quam-Cimmerian* gloom. Now Gardner takes you by the hand, shows you what were the main forces operating at various epochs in the Near East, and how they would have affected the issue and circulation of various sorts of money. A method like this cannot be, and does not claim to be, infallible—but when applied with knowledge and discretion it becomes thoroughly enlightening and encouraging to the groping student. He at least sees some facts in their proper setting: he learns what is the true perspective of numismatic study. In every science it is the judicious use of hypothesis that counts. In every science, the true guide, while he uses hypothesis is yet continually warning us against the abuse of it, which consists in straining evidence beyond its due limit.

The other main characteristic of Professor Gardner's treatment seems to lie in his extraordinary insistence upon the importance of standards as distinct from types, symbols and inscriptions. No one knows better than he how difficult and elusive is this aspect of numismatic study. Yet it seems to the present writer that from the outsider's point of view, it is a great boon to have assistance in this matter not merely on account of its difficulty, but also because of its importance. Naturally the beginner is drawn (was not Gardner drawn when he wrote his *Types of Greek Coins*?) to study those features in money which

first strike the eye, those which can also be reproduced in the photograph or electrotype, and which bear a direct relation to art as well as to history. All the same, Dr. Gardner has done well to remind us in his new work that weight is the real standard of value, and that if we are to proceed with coins beyond the merely dilettante stage we must be prepared to deal with varieties of standard quite as readily or more readily than with the more attractive varieties of type and symbol.

For the English reader who has previously gone to Head for his information about standards and numismatic history, it will be a distinct reassurance to find how closely Gardner is in accord with the earlier authority. It is true that he gained his numismatic knowledge under Head during the sixteen years he spent as a member of the British Museum staff. On the other hand, Gardner's mind is so independent and his whole outlook so original that to see his confidence in Head's theories (speaking generally, of course, because there are also numerous instances to the contrary) will tend to increase the reader's reliance upon both writers.

Another interesting feature in Gardner's work is his attempt, often very convincing, not merely to connect the general trend of history with the facts and tendencies of numismatic output, but also to date numismatic issues exactly by reference to known events. For instance, he gives reasons for asserting that the Olive Crown, which appears on Athena's helmet on all but the very early tetradrachms of Athens, was adopted in honour of the victory of Marathon. This of course is particularly interesting to the student—and the book positively teems with similar suggestions, which it would take too long to enumerate.

We may, however, refer to a few points in the work which seem to offer special difficulty or ground for respectful criticism. It seems a pity that Dr. Gardner, in his enthusiasm for Greek art, is at all times inclined to write slightly of the Minoan civilisation, or at least its influence upon later Greek culture. Many students think

about Evans's work, and probably he thinks himself that (next perhaps to his attention to problems connected with early writing) his theories on Minoan weights and standards constitute his most important contribution to learning. Now, the origin of the most truly Greek coin standard, which is the Aeginetan, has always been a great difficulty to numismatists, and Evans claimed to find at Gnosso the secret of this problem. Gardner was free to reject this theory, of course. But he seems to do so on very slight grounds, and chiefly on account of the *a priori* impossibility of Gnosso having influenced later Greece. *Quod erat probandum*. Nor does he appear to attach sufficient importance to Mr. Hogarth's arguments for the existence of coins in Ionia long prior to 700 B.C. Again, though it is a much smaller point, as regards the derivation of the coinage of Corcyra from the Aeginetan standard, Gardner does not appear to be clear. Unless we have quite misunderstood his meaning, the account given of the matter in pp. 139-140 appears to be contradicted on pp. 169 and 375.

To revert once more to the Athenian currency, Dr. Gardner's reading of the much-discussed passage in the *Frogs* of Aristophanes is different from that of Head. And Gardner seems to think that the expression *χάλκια πονηρά* does not refer to a bronze coinage of any sort, but to the gold coins, to the issue of which as a war necessity the poet is objecting. This appears to strain the text, and as Head speaks of the existence even in the British Museum of plated bronze tetradrachms of this period (giving a reason for their rarity) we think the author might reconsider his explanation. Again, on p. 226, remarking on the slowness of the change at Athens from very small silver to bronze, he gives as a reason for this that they often carried their change in the mouth, and that the taste of bronze would be unpleasant. Is it possible to believe that there was anywhere a custom of carrying bronze in the mouth? It is said that silver was so carried, evidently on account of

its extreme tenuity and the consequent risk of its loss. But it appears to the present writer extremely unlikely that bronze would ever have been so carried, and that perhaps Aristophanes in the *'Ekklesiazousai'* was joking when he suggested the existence of the practice.

We should also like to ask whether our author does not insist too much upon the distinctness of the Attic as compared to the (original) Euboic standard? That Peisistratus did raise the standard from about 130 to 135 grains, and that he forced up the Euboic standard at Corinth and elsewhere, we take as sufficiently proved in the earlier essay of Dr. Gardner. And the reasons given by him for believing there was elsewhere a previous standard of 135 grains are weighty. But all the same the main reason which Gardner himself holds for the raising of the standard—namely, the increased supply owing to the discovery of silver at Laurium—would seem to suggest the issue of heavier coins of the old rather than the adoption of a brand-new standard. It is perhaps to some extent a matter of words, but the multiplication of distinct standards is to be avoided where unnecessary, and elsewhere Gardner speaks of mints uttering heavy coin for sufficient reasons, though undoubtedly the changing of standards in the opposite direction would have been commoner.

We think on the whole that the author did right in not bringing down his treatise beyond Alexander the Great, or approximately the end of the fourth century. The succeeding periods may be interesting, and even enormously so; but the interest is different, and the relation of numismatic to historical study not perhaps so vital. We are informed, however, that possibly in the future a work on the later period will be forthcoming; and if so, we may safely predict that neither the student's admiration nor the weight of his obligation to Dr. Gardner will be thereby diminished.

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## EASTERN VERSIONS OF THE ROMANCE OF ALEXANDER.

*Die Chadhirlegende und der Alexander-roman.* By I. FRIEDLAENDER. Pp. xxiv+338. Berlin: Teubner. M. 12.

PROFESSOR FRIEDLAENDER of New York has undertaken and carried through a task of considerable importance. He has traced the history of the chief figure in Mohammedan legend, Chadhir, from various sources, of which he finds the chief in the *Romance of Alexander*. In his regress he halts for an interesting moment at the eighteenth Sura of the Koran, in which Mohammed repeats a legend about Moses, which is, in turn, an echo of the adventure of Alexander with his cook, as told by the Pseudo-Callisthenes. The cook one day was called upon to prepare a salted fish for the table, but the fish came to life again as the cook began to wash it in a certain spring. When the fountain of life was thus discovered, the cook, without telling anybody of his discovery, took some of the water for his own consumption, and so became immortal. But the immortality thus gained was of no value to him, for Alexander had a stone tied round the neck of the immortal cook and threw him into the sea, where he still lives as a sea-spirit. In the Koran, the Alexander of this story reappears first as Moses, and soon after as the Two-horned. The cook may perhaps be traced in Chadhir who, although he does not appear under his own name in the Koran, is identified with a servant of Moses mentioned in the same eighteenth Sura.

Such are the bare outlines of the theme. The author has treated it in a masterly manner, both from the standpoint of literary history and from that of folk-lore. He has surveyed and described the literary sources—Greek, Hebrew, Syriac, and Arabic—not to speak of Ethiopian and Persian—in such a way that the reader has before him an illuminating outlook upon the Eastern world of legend.<sup>1</sup> Dr. Friedlaender's Jewish training has made it

doubtless the easier for him thus to control the rich Semitic literatures to which Hebrew furnishes perhaps the best key. It must be my partial excuse for having so long delayed this notice, that I have been tempted to verify, in some cases at least, the references which are so adequately furnished. In particular, we may notice the exactness with which the Arabic historians have handed down through long chains of records the first authentic statements (p. 133).

Not less admirable is the method of the author who points out that the details of a legend are mainly important so far as they converge upon the leading figures (p. 35 n.). For Dr. Friedlaender proceeds upon the principle that in folk-lore mere resemblance does not prove that one of the parties to the likeness is related historically to the other. While the same details recur in various stories, only definite historical tradition can justify us in declaring that one form of a legend is derived from another in which the leading figure is different. There is only one case in which, I venture to suggest, the author's caution in this respect has carried him too far. The striking resemblances between the *Romance of Alexander* and primitive Babylonian legends fail, for the author, in convincing him that Babylon influenced the writer of the Romance. Neither Dr. Friedlaender nor Ausfeld in his study of the Romance<sup>2</sup> has taken account of the history of Berosus, who opened out to the Greek world for the first time an adequate knowledge of Babylonian traditions. I am the more surprised that Dr. Friedlaender should have given us no help in this quarter, because our knowledge of Berosus, is largely due to the references which Josephus makes to him. In fact, the Jewish scholarship, which at Alexandria culminated in the translation of the Septuagint, has for its pendant a scarcely less important attempt at Babylon to bring the Semitic traditions

<sup>1</sup> C.R. 1890, pp. 259-261. Margoliouth's review of Budge's *Pseudo-Callisthenes*.

<sup>2</sup> C.R. 1910, p. 70.

before the surrounding non-Semitic world. Unfortunately, for the present, we must be content to take note of the proselytism which so much enlarged the Jewish community. In the absence of further knowledge, we may regard the book of *Jonah* as the chief monument of the fruitful contact of the Jewish mind with the spiritual life of their gentile neighbours. For the author of *Jonah*, in the form of a Midrash, deals with the circumstances of the Jewish community, as they appeared about 300 B.C., and his book is an appeal to his fellow religionists to spread the faith of Yahweh in the empire of Alexander. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Babylonian Talmud should furnish evidences of familiarity with the legends which grew up round Alexander already while he was still alive. But it is also probable that the account which the Babylonian Talmud gives of the great king did not depend only upon oral tradition, as Dr. Friedlaender suggests, but also upon Greek literary sources (pp. 42 ff.). The encyclopedic character of the Talmud has been somewhat disguised by the later Jewish particularism against which *Jonah* protested.

The problem thus presented is so difficult that, in the light of it, we may well hesitate before we admit the direct influence of the Indian East upon Greek culture, before the time of Alexander. When did Dionysus pay his first visit to India?

In his account of the Syrian sources for the later form of the legend, the author omits an interesting contribution to the Romance which is found in a Syriac version, but has not yet been traced to a Greek original.<sup>1</sup> It closes fragmentarily with a description of the gorgeous temple of Dionysus at Nysa; steps of sapphire, golden statues of

dancers and musicians, show us an oriental imagination playing round the fact that Alexander's army recognised in their march eastwards through the Khyber pass a worship which reminded them of Dionysus, not only in the details of ritual, but in some of the local place-names.

Just before I received this interesting book for review, I had visited at Rome the church of S. Pietro in Vincoli and, like so many other visitors, had been perplexed by the horns upon Moses' head in Michael Angelo's monument to Julius II. The Vulgate translation in Exodus xxxiv. 35, *faciem Moysi esse cornutam*, explains well enough for the moment, and should have been noted by the Old Testament Revisers. For if we go behind the Vulgate, we find that Aquila—Jerome's authority for the reading 'was horned' rather than 'shone'—claimed to translate the Hebrew text with more accuracy than the Septuagint had done. Aquila probably represented the opinion of the Palestinian school (an opinion held also, it would appear, by the Jewish instructors of Mohammed) that Moses was horned after his interview with Yahweh. We are reminded irresistibly of the horned Alexander upon the coins of Lysimachus and Ptolemy,<sup>2</sup> who in his turn had met the ram-god Amen face to face. Even if we suppose that the horns of Moses stood in some relation to the ancient symbolism of the bull under which form Yahweh was worshipped, we are left with the profound idea that the worshipper who sees his God becomes like him. Dr. Friedlaender has confined himself to literary evidence, but there opens out before us an artistic history which might serve as an appendix to this admirable piece of work.

FRANK GRANGER.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Roediger, *Chrestomathia Syriaca*<sup>3</sup>, pp. 103 ff.

<sup>2</sup> G. F. Hill, *Hist. Greek Coins*, pp. 121, 158.

## POETI ALESSANDRINI.

*Poeti Alessandrini.* By AUGUSTO ROSTAGNI. Pp. 398. Turin: Fratelli Bocca, 1916. Lire 5.

THIS is a very interesting and well-knit book. The author holds a definite theory about the character of Alexandrian poetry in general. He has read widely in the scattered German, French, Italian and English books and papers on the subject, and supports his statements by notes placed at the end of each chapter. If he seems inclined, like many present-day scholars, to make his bricks with the straw of bad evidence in default of good, or it may be on occasion with no straw at all, it would at any rate need a critic of much learning to confute him, and the freshness of his interest in third-century poetry and the world from which it sprang throws much light on the political, literary, country and town life of the period. His habit of constantly inverting the subject and object of sentences makes his style somewhat difficult to an English reader, and the Italian language is apt to be more lavish of words than our own, but his power of making the charm of the authors whom he discusses felt is unquestionable, his translations are full of grace, and even the vivid pictures of Theocritus are enhanced by his descriptions.

In the fourth century, as Greek poetry declined, prose advanced, being, in Signor Rostagni's opinion, the appropriate means by which the scientific spirit of the age could express itself. But this spirit of intellectual curiosity needed an outlet for the imaginative portrayal of human life, which it could not find in the strict forms of classical poetry. Euripides had, it is true, given a new colour to the traditional framework of myth, but, as a rule, the fourth century, which had broken with the past, found the conventions of hymns, paeans, elegies, and tragedies artificial and hampering. For a time poetry withered; only scanty fragments have come down to us, but if we had lost none of the great quantity that was produced, we should still, says

Signor Rostagni, feel 'a sense of void,' as though these works, 'suffering from the effect of an unfavourable climate, had only come to birth out of respect for tradition' (p. 25).

Euripides, Antimachus, and Choerilus show a consciousness that society and art in their day had detached themselves from the society and art of the past. This consciousness 'created the atmosphere necessary for the refflorescence of poetry.' Artistic fiction, in the opinion of Signor Rostagni, is the distinctive quality of this refflorescence. The poets of an earlier age would compose a hymn or an epithalamium for a special occasion, to be sung by a special chorus; Theocritus and his contemporaries invent a scene, a marriage or a festival, describing the actors and their surroundings in detail, and introducing imaginatively the songs that they would sing in such situations. If we follow Signor Rostagni, we shall look on the art of the Alexandrians not as a decadence, but as a transition to a modern attitude of mind, which cheerfully takes the whole spectacle of human affairs, great and small, for its province, with a decided tendency to dwell on *οἱς χρώμεθα, οἱς σύνεσμεν*. Euripides felt pain in the process of coming down from the heroic to the ordinary world, but Theocritus wears his scepticism lightly, and all the Alexandrian poets reveal that they breathe the air of 'perfumed salons and comfortable libraries' (p. 41).

Signor Rostagni sums up Theocritus as the poet of all aspects and hues of life, 'who enjoys its many-coloured picture with a quiet sense of pleasure' (p. 94). It is a mistake to look upon him as the typical poet of the country as opposed to the town, for he is fully as much, if not more, at home in the streets of Alexandria, as in the pastures and hills of Sicily and Magna Grecia (where Signor Rostagni conjectures that he may have lived for a while, before going to Cos), or in the literary circle of Cos. His natural bent is for the things of 'la piccola umanità,' and though he casts his eye over anything

and everything with intelligence, he does not take everything equally to his heart; hence a certain frigidity, when he deals with court and heroic themes. All through his work we can descry Theocritus himself enjoying the spectacle that he has created for us, whether it be Simaetha's passion, the *littérateurs* of Cos masquerading as shepherds, and betraying their knowledge of art and music, or the hints to Aeschines of blemishes in the character of Ptolemy Philadelphus. Herein lies the distinction between Theocritus and Herodas: 'Theocritus we know, but we could never know Herodas, except negatively, because he has never gone beyond the surface of the things that he describes' (p. 84). The lay figures of Herodas, in their own lack of vitality, disclose nothing of their inventor's temperament.

The handling of the Daphnis myth in popular legend, and in literature from Stesichorus downwards, gives Signor Rostagni the opportunity of discovering what he takes to be the true nature of literary pastoral poetry. With Maass, he finds the origin of the legend in Euboea, and believes that it was transplanted to Sicily by Ionian colonists. One form prevailed round about Himera, another in the regions of Leontini and Catana, and the Ionian Daphnis, spreading his sphere of influence, came into contact at Syracuse with the Dorian bucolic hero Diomos, and superseded him in popularity. Rustic legends and songs, peasant life as represented in these songs—such was the natural material for third-century poets to seize eagerly in their revolt against the rigidity of classical restrictions. In particular the myth of Daphnis, with its romantic story, provided Hermesianax, Sositheus, and others, including above all Theocritus, with a theme after their own hearts, which reappears again and again. Alexandrian bucolic poetry is many sided; sometimes it depicts country folk in their 'rudezza originale'; sometimes it shows us town poets playing at being Arcadian shepherds (in Watteau's sense), and again it develops the lyrical and emotional side of current legends as a means of expressing 'la

propria poesia della natura e del cuore' (p. 162). Signor Rostagni might have referred to D'Annunzio's *La Figlia di Iorio*, as a splendid example of the Theocritean spirit in our own day.

In a chapter on Asclepiades and his school in Samos, the same tendencies of the Alexandrian age are set forth. Humour, scepticism, a lively interest in the world at large, and especially in themselves and their emotions, characterised these poets, and they, one after another, made play with the myth of Glaucus just as another group used Daphnis for a poetical air and variations. But the part of the book which is the most likely to attract attention and challenge controversy is the treatment of Callimachus in Chapter V. The author holds that the six *Hymns* are inspired by one design, and all date from 280-270. The *Hymns* to Demeter and Pallas stand somewhat apart from the rest, in being free from current politics, but all six are literary compositions, not songs intended to be sung at actual festivals. As other Alexandrian poets paint town or country life, so Callimachus chooses to set before us 'the sacred ceremonies which in a certain degree satisfy his tastes as an artist and a learned man' (p. 256). Along with this wish to 'hold up a mirror to the religious hymns of the past' (p. 261), Callimachus unites, in the *Hymns* to Zeus, Delos, Artemis, and Apollo, the purpose of celebrating his king, Ptolemy Philadelphus, and Arsinoë II. Signor Rostagni finds that the parallel between Zeus or Apollo and Ptolemy runs throughout the poems, and does not merely crop up incidentally in the few passages where it is distinctly announced. In order to support his views, he discusses several chronological questions, notably in an appendix on the dominion of Ptolemy in Ionia, which he considers to have lasted from about 274 to shortly after the death of Arsinoë. At the end of the *Hymn* to Apollo he holds Apollonius Rhodius to be the poet 'as vast as the sea,' to whom Callimachus objects, and thinks that the date of the hymn is approximately that of the time when Apollonius left Alexandria, owing to the failure of the first book of the *Argonautica* to win



royal favour; from this position it is an easy step to see in the peroration of the hymn the triumph of Callimachus over his discomfited rival.

Besides chronology, some questions concerning Theodorus Syracusanus, Rhinthon, Dosiades of Crete (who is the Lycidas of Theocr. VII., according to Signor Rostagni), and the debt of Propertius IV. 6 to Callimachus are discussed in appendixes. A confusing slip inverts Dorians and Ionians on p. 143.

Though on his own showing, Epicharmus, Menander, not to speak of Euripides, Antimachus and many more, have qualities which would be called Alexandrian in third-century writers, Signor Rostagni is a very persuasive advocate, and has a great body of learning at his command, whether to call witnesses to his aid or to overthrow his opponents.

ADELA MARION ADAM.

### MODERN GREEK IN ASIA MINOR.

*Modern Greek in Asia Minor: a Study of the Dialects of Silli, Cappadocia, and Pharasa.* With grammar, texts, translation, and glossary. By R. M. DAWKINS, M.A., late Director of the British School at Athens. With a chapter on the subject-matter of the folk-tales by W. R. HALLIDAY, B.A., B.Litt., Cambridge University Press.

THIS is a book of real importance for the student of Modern Greek. Mr. Dawkins has an extraordinarily acute ear, and he takes the most minute care in his transcriptions; probably no one has ever recorded Modern Greek sounds with such exactitude. He has also chosen a district of which very little was known, at a time when the dialects were dying out from natural causes, and it is not likely that many of them or those who speak them will survive this war. In the summer of 1914 the Turks were already persecuting their Greek subjects and driving them from their homes by the thousand, with murder and robbery, as I happen to know from reading hundreds of captured letters; and what they have done since we may easily guess. Very little has been printed before about these dialects; what there is, Mr. Dawkins has used.

Besides the linguistic matter, the book contains a good deal of information as to population, local buildings, and the way the people live, with several photographs. There are most extraordinary underground houses and even churches; the practice of living under-

ground is mentioned by Xenophon. One is reminded by such a sketch as Fig. 2, p. 16, of the tomb of Christ, with a stone rolled along for a door.

The forms of these dialects are all carefully tabulated and critically examined. The dialects are in themselves less attractive to the literary student than those of the Greek mainland or the islands: they are degraded and corrupt, and contain an unusual number of Turkish and Latin loan-words. The Turkish influence, as one might expect, is very strong, and here, as elsewhere, the influence of the local schools is very bad. I have found in my own travels that the schoolmaster is generally a pedant, whose literary style is dreadful; but providence gives us a compensation in the schoolmaster's wife, who is delightfully primitive, speaks a good dialect Greek, and knows the local tales and superstitions. Mr. Dawkins sums up the characteristics of the dialects in a special section (p. 192). One remarkable feature is the borrowing of Turkish verbs, for verbs are not borrowed until dialects begin to fuse.

More than half the book is occupied by the text and translation of folk-tales, and this alone would give it a permanent value. As stories, the tales are disappointing; they are told in a bald style, and are not in that respect equal to those we already know. But they are full of interest, not only for the student of folk-tales, but still more for the student of life and manners. They are a fairly representative collection, and the largest collection yet published

in English. Mr. Halliday analyses their contents, showing the analogies with other Greek tales, and some parallels from other fields; he also adds a bibliography. There are hardly any classical echoes; the Cyclops story is probably not an unbroken tradition,

but there are not wanting classical episodes, such as the floating box. Each tale has its authority given. Finally, there are dialect glossaries, Greek and Turkish, an index, and sketch-maps; the indices fill 115 pages.

W. H. D. ROUSE.

### POSTGATE'S LUCAN, BOOK VIII.

*M. Annaei Lucani de bello civili. Liber VIII.* Edited by J. P. POSTGATE, Litt.D., F.B.A. One vol. 8vo. Pp. cxii + 146. 1 map. Cambridge: University Press, 1917. 3s. net.

A GOOD explanatory edition of the eighth book of Lucan was badly wanted. Professor Postgate has supplied the want in an edition which no one who loves Lucan or Latin can afford to neglect. It pours out in liberal measure the results of many a year's devotion to ancient literature, and one may say with full confidence that no one will read it without finding in it both enlightenment and stimulus. There is probably no book of Lucan which affords more room for differences of opinion than Book VIII. In several places I cannot quite see eye to eye with the present editor. A few of these passages will be noticed here; others do not admit of discussion within the limits of a short review. But one can learn a great deal from Professor Postgate's notes even when one does not agree with him, and no amount of disagreement could avail to shake one's admiration for this edition, which bears on every page the unmistakable stamp of the great scholar. The introduction is a fine piece of work, with a valuable discussion of historical, literary, geographical, and ethnographical questions; it will be particularly welcome to those who wish to sift the ancient evidence for 'the last days of Pompeius.' The critical notes are very different from the usual dry-as-dust compilation. Of the commentary I have already spoken, but a special word of praise must be given to the apt illustrations with which it abounds. It was a happy idea to add a small portion of Book IX., containing

the apotheosis of Pompey and Cato's famous eulogy.

A few comments may now be made on some points in the explanatory notes.

V. 1. *-que*. I do not quite understand the references to Virgil. *Aen.* 1. 672 is a wrong reference; *Aen.* 2. 99 does not seem to be to the point. 2. *deserta petens dispendia siluac*. Stat. *Theb.* 2. 496 f., which is probably a reminiscence of Lucan, illustrates very well the difference between *dispendia* and *compendia*, and might have been quoted. 38 *uector* (in sense corresponding to *uehi*; cf. 4. 133, 5. 581). Not quite 'an isolated use'; cf. *gestator* (Mart.). Lucan uses *uector* also in the other sense, 6. 392. 67 *amplexibus ambit* in Claud. *Id.* 5. 35. 97 *accipe poenas*. A note perhaps advisable. Cf. Claud. *Rapt. Pros.* 3. 425, etc. *Ib. sed*. Some indication of the frequency of this use might have been given for the benefit of the younger student. 100 *mari* dative or ablative? See Heitland, *Intr.*, p. civ. 108 *sicca* . . . *Thessaliae*. Can such a use of the dative be paralleled? It seems much safer to read the ablative. Codex V. is often in the right. 117 *omnia = cetera*. It might have been mentioned that this natural licence occurs as early as Plautus. Cf. Luc. 2. 52, 589; *cunctis*, 5. 509. 134 It seems possible that *nauem(-im)* has dropped out between *regina* and *cum* in Flor. 4. 11. 8. 137 *nocentes sc. uos*. A good parallel is 4. 363 *securumque (sc. te) orbis patimur post terga relict*. 157 *nulli grauis*. To the examples from *Carm. Epigr.* add 226. 2. 157 f. (of Cornelia in Lesbos): quod submissa nimis nulli grauis hospita turbae stantis adhuc fati uixit quasi coniuge uicto.

I have given the text as Professor Postgate prints it. There are variants *animis*, for *nimis*, and (poorly supported) *turba*. The expression *nimis . . . turbae* is translated 'a humble sojourner with a retinue overburdensome to none.' The puzzling *stantis adhuc fati* may be, as the editor suggests, a strained use of the genitive of description, but the meaning cannot be 'she lived (as one) of a still unfallen fortune.' This gives no sense in its context; the only meaning which will suit is 'while she was still of unshaken fortune she lived as if her husband were already conquered.' Liv. 21. 1. 4 offers perhaps as good a parallel as can be found: *fama est Hannibalem, annorum fere decem* (when he was about ten years old), . . . *iure iurando adactum*. But here, as in the examples quoted by the editor, the noun in the genitive denotes time or a person's age, and it is doubtful if Latin would allow such an extension as is here attributed to Lucan. It really seems a less violent course to read *turba* and to take *stantis adhuc fati* as depending on it: 'oppressing none with the retinue that her still unshaken fortune gave her' (more literally 'the retinue that belonged to her still standing fortune'). It can hardly be denied that this use of the gen. is possible; it certainly seems less harsh than that which the other view of the passage entails, and it is only a short step beyond the similar *fortunaie apparatus suae* (Liv. 9. 17. 16), 'the sumptuous appointments belonging to his high station' (cf. Curt. 3. 12. 12, *apparatu pristinae fortunaie*). Possibly Lucan was prompted by a somewhat vague recollection of Ov. *Trist.* 1. 5. 34, *cetera fortunaie, non mea, turba fuit*, which refers to the crowds of friends who surrounded the poet in his days of prosperity. Should neither of the above explanations satisfy we must resort to emendation. A possible solution will occur to any scholar who will look at Claud. *Get.* 318, which looks like a reminiscence of the present passage.

208 *terrarum dominos*. The fact may well be that the ambiguity of Hor. *C.* 1. 1. 6, *terrarum dominos euehit ad deos*, which is noticed by Ps.-Acron, caused Ovid (*Pont.* 1. 9. 36) and Lucan to

interpret the line in different ways, Ovid taking *dominos* as in apposition to *deos*, Lucan understanding it as object to *euehit* and as referring to the princely victors at the Olympic games [Rühl in *Rh. Mus.* 67 (1912), p. 153]. 223 *duros aeterni Martis Alanos*. As the idea that a genitive of description cannot depend on a noun to which an adjective is attached has not quite disappeared, some illustrations might have been given, e.g. 5. 468 and probably 198. 263 *instar*. For English readers the article in Nettleship's *Contributions to Latin Lexicography* might have been cited; its conclusions are very similar to Wölfflin's. 288 *Romana*. Add 9. 1075. 306 sq. *fiducia . . . in*. Cf. 447; Iuu. 10. 306 (with Friedlaender's note). Lucan usually prefers the gen. 337 *auersos . . . polos* 'the S. pole.' 1. 54 ought to have been quoted. 387 I must here thank Professor Postgate for supplying an instance (Sil. 6. 194) of *artus* = 'hemmed in,' which I tried in vain to find when writing a note on 9. 449 (*C. Q. X.* pp. 155 f.). My *artans* must give way to his *artum*. 391 *tanti est . . . ut . . . ?* A note would have been useful. 444. No note on *hinc—inde*: cf. 1. 116 (*inde—hinc*), 2. 54, 9. 337, Stat. *Theb.* 2. 5, Aus. *Mos.* 165, Rut. *Nam.* 1. 154, *Flor.* 4. 2. 5. In Luc. 1. 173 and 176 *inde* and *hinc* are not contrasted. Lejay's note on 1. 116 gives some other instances and some useful references. 449-451. Contrast 281 f. 462 *transuerso uertitur*. For other examples see Hosius, *Praef.*, p. xxix. Add Luc. 5. 459 *sequi . . . secundo*. *Dicitur dixisse* occurs not only in the passage of Seneca cited in the note, but at least twice in Livy (4. 48. 6, 9. 7. 2). Some of Lucan's sound-combinations are very harsh to a modern ear, e.g. *dum nondum*, 2. 60, *nam iam*, 9. 317. 485 f. 'Dat poenas laudata fides cum sustinet,' inquit, 'quos fortuna premit.' The wording of this reminds one of Livy, who is fond of saying that the *fides* of barbarians depends on the *fortuna* of one side or the other (22. 22. 6, *qualia plerumque sunt barbarorum ingenia, cum fortuna mutauerat fidem*; 28. 17. 7, *barbaris, quibus ex fortuna pendet fides*). It is very likely that he used this favourite sentiment in narra-

ting the incident that Lucan is here portraying. This passage may therefore be added to the many other indications that Livy is Lucan's chief source. 496 *non impune . . . contempserit*. As *contempserit* is (rightly) said to be perf. subj., it might have been pointed out that *non* (not *ne*) goes closely with *impune*; cf. 5. 756; contrast 2. 50. 513-526. All explanations of this passage seem to have suffered from not noticing that the lines are an explanation of *querellae* (512). In them Pothinus suggests a form of 'complaint' which Ptolemy might reasonably address to Pompey. This is made quite clear by vers. 518. f. and especially by vers. 520-524, words which are senseless as well as incredibly presumptuous if considered as an utterance of Pothinus in his own person. At ver. 527 Pothinus resumes his own speech, the change being facilitated by the *tu*, *Ptolomae* of ver. 528. Thus the reason given in the critical note for changing the punctuation of ver. 518 scarcely holds good, and in the note on 523 it would be better to write 'Ptolemy' for 'the Egyptians' and 'he' for 'they' (*bis*). 522 *malueram*. Other examples of this rarity occur in Calp. 6. 30, Aus. *Epitaph*. 26. 2. 533 *cognita fata*. Haskins' strange error shows that an explanation would not be out of place. 533-5 Lucan here recalls 485-7, where the same sentiment is found in different words. 593 *ad* depending on *anxia*. This is, according to the *Thesaurus*, the only instance in Latin. 608 See *Carm. Epigr.* 249. 19, with Bücheler's note. 626 Is not *probaris* fut. perf. ind.? 640 It might have been pointed out that *ania* *Lesbos* has the force of an abstract noun with the gen., or of a noun-clause, = *quod L. ania erat*; cf. 1. 79, 5. 53, 8. 13, 9. 583, etc. Lucan is notably fond of the pres. part. in this use, e.g. 1. 72, 2. 490, 708, 3. 213, 5. 154. 693 *sceptris cessare sorori*. Cf. *Stat. Theb.* 1. 29 f. 735 *proiectis armis*. *Proiectis* seems best taken as 'flung from them'—a vivid expression for 'renounced,' as often. The *maerens exercitus* would have no heart to fight under another general. 749 *si quid sensus post fata relictum*. Compare also *Cic. Arch.* § 30, 795 ff.; *Fam.* 4. 5. 6; *Carm. Epigr.* 179. 1, 180. 2, 1147. 3. A similar sentiment (perhaps

borrowed from Lucan) is expressed in *Mart.* 5. 74. 818 f. *super alta deorum culmina*. It is ingeniously suggested that *super* means 'high up on,' and the use of *pro* in *pro rostris*, etc., is compared. Possibly this is right; the use of *sub* in expressions like *sub montis radicibus* (Livy), 'down at the base of the mountain,' is a slightly better parallel than the use of *pro*. But I am not sure that Lucan did not write *limina*; the two words are confused elsewhere. 860 f. *nunc est pro numine summo hoc tumultu fortuna iacens* (so Professor Postgate prints the sentence). I fondly imagined that the meaning and construction of these words were demonstrated beyond all reasonable doubt in a recent paper (*C. Q.* VIII, pp. 109 f.), and it was a great disappointment to find that the present edition ignores the view there given and proposes (or rather resuscitates) in its stead one which involves much difficulty and uncertainty. *Hoc . . . iacens* is translated 'he whose portion it is to be in so poor a grave,' and *Hor. Ep.* 2. 1. 191 *trahitur . . . regum fortuna*, and some other passages containing that well-known but untranslatable idiom are cited as parallel. All these examples, however, have a genitive depending on *fortuna*, and if an idiom requires an accompanying genitive, that genitive cannot be omitted, even by Lucan. My interpretation, without doing violence to the Latin, obtains by a different punctuation the very meaning that Professor Postgate desires, with the effective addition of a taunt flung at Fortune, as in ver. 793 and elsewhere.

My allowance of space does not admit of detailed comments on the interesting critical notes. The note on ver. 638, however, must be dealt with, as it contains a question which is really addressed to me. In the *Classical Quarterly* X. (1916), pp. 104 f., I argued that in 637 f., *at non tam patiens Cornelia cernere sacrum, quam perferre nefas*, the word *patiens* is, according to a usage frequent in post-Augustan authors, independent of the time of the main verb, and that the phrase merely gives us Lucan's opinion of Cornelia's character, that she was less able to bear the sight of cruel wrong done to others



than to suffer it in her own person. 'But,' asks Professor Postgate, 'on what occasion did Cornelia quail at the sight of a barbarous outrage (*saevum nefas*) such as the murder of Pompey?' This challenge makes me realize, with much regret, that in the effort to emphasise the 'timeless' meaning of *patiens* I used language which was liable to be misunderstood. Had I expressed myself clearly, Professor Postgate would no doubt have seen that, although a contemporary might have asked Lucan for an answer to the above question, it would not be quite fair to call me to account for what the poet chooses to assert. If Lucan wishes to record his opinion that Cornelia was that sort of woman, he has, of course, a perfect right to do so, even if he give no other instances to prove it. But it may be suggested that the poet had good grounds for believing that Cornelia had been a horrified spectator of many a *saevum nefas*. It is sufficient to think of the many revolting acts of pillage and murder which took place openly in Rome from 58 to 52 B.C., and if we remember Cornelia's family connexions, including the Crassi, the Caecili Metelli, and Pompey himself, all of whom were concerned in the Clodian or anti-Clodian proceedings, we shall realise that those horrors were brought very near to her. It is not unlikely that a *saevum nefas* was presented to her eyes as early as 59 B.C., when Metellus Celer, who was, I presume, some sort of relation, died mysteriously, poisoned, as was believed, by the infamous Clodia. Lucan may have known all this, but whether he did or not, his statement in vers. 637 f. is, I venture to think, quite plain. Moreover, a passage in Book V. represents Pompey as expressing an opinion of Cornelia similar to that which Lucan, as I believe, expresses in the passage under consideration. Toward the end of that book we find Pompey deciding to send Cornelia for safety to Lesbos before the real fighting begins. He tries gently to break the news, and one

of the arguments he uses is that, unless love has blinded him to his wife's real nature, she is not the sort of person who could bear to look on (*spectare*) the horrors of civil war (5. 748 f.; the question of reading does not affect the present argument). In the early part of Book VIII. the Cornelia who faints at the sight of the haggard fugitive is prepared to undergo the cruellest death for his sake, in order to remove the ill luck which seems to dog those who attach themselves to her. This truly womanly combination of gentleness and fortitude, weakness and strength, is what Lucan tries to sum up in vers. 637 f.

With regard to ver. 306, where Professor Postgate, with friendly bluntness, declares that my interpretation, which would keep the *tanta* of the MSS., 'cannot be extracted from the Latin,' I can only plead that I am not the only person who has extracted it. The question is one of individual feeling, and scarcely admits of argument, so that Professor Postgate is thoroughly justified in confining himself to a direct negative. His attractive emendation, *tota*, will, I have no doubt, find many supporters.

In the Introduction, § 2, mention might have been made of Rossbach's theory that Florus did not borrow from Lucan, but both writers used a historical work of the elder Seneca. On p. xxiii, among the scholiast's citations from Livy the very interesting one in the *commentum* on VIII. 91 (Usener, p. 259) is inadvertently omitted.

I have noticed very few misprints; the most important are *manebit* for *manebat*, note on 157, and *patit* for *petit*, note on 321. In the commentary on ver. 402 there should be an asterisk after the number of the line. Footnote 3 on p. xxxiii refers to a non-existent annotation.

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## DE CICERONIS LIBRO CONSOLATIONIS.

*De Ciceronis libro Consolationis.* By T. VAN WAGENINGEN. Pp. 1-54. Groningen, 1916.

IN this modest and unpretending work the writer has endeavoured to reconstitute, so far as possible, the contents of Cicero's lost work, the *Consolatio*, which he wrote in B.C. 45 to comfort himself after the death of his dearly-loved daughter Tullia. The subject has already been treated by other inquirers, notably Corssen (1881), Buresch (1887), and Pohlenz (1909), who have put together the materials which Professor van Wageningen has arranged and utilized in this dissertation. Cicero claims to have read all the existing works on the theme which he could find (*Att.* XII. 14. 3), but his chief source appears to have been the work of Crantor *περὶ πένθους*. We are told by Pliny (*Nat. Hist. Praef.* 22) that Cicero's work was a literal translation of Crantor. Elsewhere (*Ac.* II. 135) Cicero speaks of Crantor's treatise as short, but of pure gold, and quotes a saying of Panaetius that everyone ought to learn it by heart. The few fragments of Cicero's own work survive in quotations, or references, in *Tusc.* I. and III., written very shortly afterwards, and in quotations of Lactantius and Augustine.

Recent writers have shown that much further information can be gained from similar *Consolationes*, either founded on that of Crantor himself or drawn from Cicero's lost work. The chief of these is a treatise included among the works of Plutarch,<sup>1</sup> written to Apollonius on the death of his son. The writer quotes Crantor (*φησὶν ὁ ἀκαδημαῖκός Κράντωρ*, p. 102 c-d) for a view which is also cited by Cicero as that of Crantor in *Tusc.* III. 12. There are many similarities of a striking kind

between Plutarch and passages in the *Tusculans*—e.g. in *Tusc.* I. 115 Cicero quotes from Crantor a story about Terinaeus, a native of Brutii, which also appears, without reference to Crantor, in *Plut.* 109 b-d; so in *Tusc.* III. 129 he cites a fragment from Euripides which is also found in *Plut.* 112 d. It was suggested by Pohlenz that the order of Crantor's work, and therefore of Cicero's imitation, could be recovered from Plutarch. Wageningen goes further, and holds that the work itself is practically preserved by Plutarch. This is somewhat bold, since Plutarch, while using Crantor, may well have drawn from other sources.

Further evidence is yielded by other imitations, notably those of Jerome in *Ep.* LX. on the death of Nepotianus, and of Ambrose on the death of his brother, Book II. Jerome refers to a number of 'bright, particular stars in Roman history' (*quorum virtutibus quasi quibusdam stellis Latinae micant historiae*) whose bereavements were described by Cicero in his *Consolatio*. Ambrose, who in § 50 ascribes to pagan authors the *tripertita divisio*, which he has adopted, refers to Crantor and Cicero. Various passages in Jerome and Ambrose correspond closely with passages in Plutarch, or references to the *Consolatio* in the *Tusculans*, and it seems a fair inference that they were founded on Cicero's lost work.

With the help of these materials Wageningen has made an interesting attempt to reconstruct Cicero's treatise by combining existing fragments with passages in Plutarch and imitations in Jerome, Ambrose, and other writers. These are arranged according to the order which is furnished by Plutarch. The reconstruction which is given is very plausible, and the work, which is written in excellent Latin, is distinctly useful.

ALBERT C. CLARK.

<sup>1</sup> Wageningen, for the sake of convenience, quotes the work as that of Plutarch, but does not suggest that it is genuine. It is generally held to be spurious.

## THE VERB 'TO BE' IN HERODOTUS.

*De la Phrase à Verbe 'être' dans l'Ionien d'Hérodote.* Par D. BARBELENET. One vol. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. 114. Paris: Champion, 1913.

PROFESSOR MEILLET has organised the study of 'la phrase attributive' in a number of languages. 'Dans tous ces travaux,' says M. Barbelenet, 'on examine avant tout la présence ou l'absence de la copule et sa place par rapport à l'attribut.' M. Marouzeau's elaborate work on this type of sentence in early Latin was reviewed in C.R. XXVI. (1912), p. 129 ff. The book before us was published in 1913, but has only recently come into my hands.

The author draws an important contrast between Greek and Latin: 'Cette différence entre les deux langues tient à ce que *εἰμι* a une force bien plus grande que *sum*. Les formes du présent sont beaucoup plus pleines qu'en latin. En latin toutes, même l'infinitif, sont devenues enclitiques. En grec les particules atones ou accentuées viennent, comme en indo-européen, après le premier mot de la phrase, fût-ce l'attribut et établissent ainsi une séparation mécanique entre le verbe et l'attribut quand celui-ci commence la phrase, ce qui est fréquent. Aussi le groupement attribut-verbe ne pouvait devenir presque automatique, et *εἰμι* ne pouvait prendre de place fixe. D'ailleurs par analogie les formes accentuées à l'époque historique tendaient à donner de l'indépendance aux formes du présent, et enfin la liberté de la construction a été assurée par l'existence en grec d'une forme toujours tonique, qui n'a pu se maintenir dans le système de la conjugaison latine, à savoir le participe présent. . . . En grec au contraire *ὄν* est extrêmement fréquent et a une valeur très forte à en juger non seulement par les dérivés *ὄντως* "réellement" et *τὰ ὄντα* "la réalité," mais encore par la proportion très considérable des cas où il précède l'attribut.'

Hence *εἰμί* is more independent than *sum* and its connexion with the predicative word is less close. In Latin these two elements become so nearly

inseparable that, apart from a few fixed expressions, the omission of the verb 'to be' is unusual. In Greek, on the other hand, the 'phrase nominale pure,' very common in Indo-European, has a longer life. 'Dans les poèmes homériques l'absence du verbe est au moins aussi fréquente que sa présence à la 3<sup>e</sup> personne; elle n'est pas rare aux deux premières. Il n'est pas un seul dialecte où elle ne se constate.' In Herodotus it has a more limited use than in Homer, but there are various types of sentence, carefully classified and very fully illustrated by M. Barbelenet, in which the verb was not usually introduced, and some of these types are familiar to us from Plato, Aristophanes, and other Attic writers. Thus Demosthenes says (O.L. I. 5) *καὶ ὅλως ἀπιστον, οἶμαι, ταῖς πολιτείαις ἢ τυραννίς*, just as Croesus says (Hdt. iii. 36) *σοφὸν δὲ ἢ προμηθίη*.

More commonly Herodotus expresses the verb, and the greater part of the book is occupied with the study of the differences of meaning produced by varying the normal order shown in *ὁ θρόνος χρύσεός ἐστι*. 'Il en résulte que, réserve faite d'exceptions nombreuses dues en général à la forme d'un des éléments, chacune des six dispositions correspond à une différence d'idée ou de sentiment.' It would not be possible to give any satisfactory summary of this part of the book without going to great length and quoting many examples. But to show the skill with which M. Barbelenet distinguishes subtle differences of meaning I quote a few sentences from the excellent chapter on 'Le Verbe d'Existence':

"*Ἔστι* "il y a" précède le sujet quand la phrase introduit quelque chose de tout à fait nouveau: détail dans une description, affirmation dans une discussion, fait dans un récit. . . . L'ordre inverse sert ou bien à situer un objet dont il a déjà été question ou, plus rarement, à rattacher un nouvel objet à un autre dont il a été parlé antérieurement. . . . Quelques passages où les deux ordres sont juxtaposés permettent d'en distinguer la valeur respective. Hérodote décrit I. 183 un temple de

Babylone. Ce temple contient divers objets en or notamment *καὶ ὁ θρόνος χρύσεός ἐστι*, ordre banal. L'autel placé en dehors du temple est également en or. Il n'y a pas là de détail vraiment nouveau, tout temple impliquant l'existence d'un autel: ce qu'il y a d'insolite, c'est la magnificence de cet autel et l'adjectif qui l'exprime est mis en vedette par hyperbate, mais le verbe

suit encore le sujet: *ἔξω δὲ τοῦ νηοῦ βωμός ἐστι χρύσεος*. Plus loin Hérodote doit décrire un nouvel objet: il commence par en indiquer l'existence *ἦν δὲ*, puis il le localise à la fois dans l'espace et dans le temps: *ἐν τῷ τεμένει τούτῳ ἔτι τὸν χρόνον ἐκείνον* pour ne le nommer qu'ensuite, *καὶ ἀνδρίας δυώδεκα πηχέων χρύσεος στερεός*.

W. E. P. PANTIN.

## SHORT NOTICES

### *The House-Door on the Ancient Stage.*

A Dissertation presented to the Faculty of Princeton University in Candidacy for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy. By W. W. MOONEY. Pp. 105. 25 × 17.5 cm. Baltimore: Williams and Wilkins Company, 1914.

IN this monograph Mr. Mooney has collected and brought up to date all available evidence bearing upon the door in the back-scene of the ancient theatre. The subject is, indeed, more important than might at first be supposed; for without an intelligent appreciation of the stage-action one cannot fully understand the situation in the ancient drama and more especially in the New Comedy and its vigorous Roman continuation.

By careful consideration of all the relevant passages the author shows conclusively (as we think) that the house-door inserted in the back of the stage was single; and that we cannot assume (with Lambinus and his modern following) an outer and an inner door at either end of a passage-way.<sup>1</sup> He argues with equal weight that this door was normally kept closed.

Mr. Mooney's second main point is to

<sup>1</sup> It is with diffidence that I disagree with Mr. Sargeant's contrary view stated on p. viii of the Introduction to his *Terence* (Loeb Classical Library).

dismiss the quaint notion that an actor knocked at the door before coming out. *ψοφεῖν*, *crepare* and *concrepare*, therefore, refer to the accidental sounds made in opening a door, as opposed to *κόπτειν*, *pultare*, *pulsare*, which are used for knocking to attract attention and gain admittance. A modern writer may be usefully cited in analogy. In *Kidnapped* (ch. xxix.) Stevenson writes:

'For some time Alan volleyed (= *pulsavit*, *percussit*) upon the door . . . At last, however, we heard the creak (= *ψόφος*, *crepitus*) of the hinges': similarly in ch. iii. we have—'Presently there came a great rattling of chains and bolts (giving another meaning of *ψόφος*, *crepitus*), and the door was cautiously opened.'

The author shows further by archaeological and literary evidence that the stage-door opened outwards, and not inwards as we might have expected from the arrangement of the real house-door. May this not have been due to lack of space behind the scenes?

The last section of this study is devoted to the use of the stage-door and of the *parodoi* in the plays; and two elaborate tables of the vocabulary showing its relative distribution amongst the Greek and Roman dramatists are appended.

It would be difficult to praise too highly the minute and laborious industry with which Mr. Mooney has treated his subject. An Index of the principal passages discussed is added.

HUGH G. EVELYN-WHITE.

## 'DIED OF WOUNDS.'

She hath fluttered away on her sable wing,  
The pale, scared Angel of Pain;  
For a greater than she hath looked on her,  
And she never will vex thee again.

Ἰχθίωσα θεὰ μελαρόπτερος ἐκσεσβῆται,  
ἢ πασῶν ὀδυνῶν πότνι', ἀτυζομένη·  
σεμνότερον γὰρ ἰπεῖδεν ἐπισκοπούσθ' ἑνὶ δ' ἄλλον·  
εὐδ', ὁ καμὼν, μαλακῶς· οὐ σε μέτεισι πάλιν.

W. G. W.



## OBITUARY

## HENRY MONTAGU BUTLER.

IN the Master of Trinity Cambridge has lost a scholar of a type once more common than it is at present. Dr. Henry Montagu Butler was a product of the palmy days of the Classical Tripos, and maintained throughout his long life the best traditions of that excellent course. To have a wide and thorough knowledge of the Greek and Latin authors of the 'best' periods of Greece and Rome—to understand their language, accept its rules or customs as the climax of excellence, and by close study of them to obtain some skill in imitating the diction of the great masterpieces—that was the ideal. It was an ideal congenial to the Master's own mind; and circumstance most happily placed him at the head of a great school which had for long preserved traditions of good classical teaching. Here he followed the practice, more common in the nineteenth century than to-day, of taking most of the work of his own sixth form. 'Dr. Butler,' one who knew him well writes in the *Journal of Education*, 'was emphatically a great teacher, one of the old order, now disappearing, of headmasters who looked on teaching, rather than the framing of syllabuses and time-tables and new curricula, as their prime business and duty.' He was not what is called an 'educationist,' but he was a much better teacher than many educationists. Naturally, his prime achievement as a form-master was instruction in 'pure scholarship.' Himself an artist in expression (whether in English, Greek, or Latin), all his life long aiming at perfection of language, an enthusiastic student of the most polished period of English oratory, he did his best to encourage something like his own artistry in his pupils. He was an unflinching judge of elegance and grace in composition, but it must always be founded on sound knowledge of grammar and idiom. He himself was devoted to the practice of verse composition in Latin and Greek. Whether in the intervals of his day's work at Harrow, or on a railway journey, or during a walk, he would have some passage in his mind for translation; and whether

the original was easy or difficult, the version was always a model of correctness and grace. Most of his compositions were collected and published in 1914 in *Some Leisure Hours of a Long Life*—a volume which contains some extraordinarily clever *tour de force*: for instance, the twenty-two alternative translations of Herrick's *What Needs Complaints?* or the twenty-one versions of *Crossing the Bar*—where each somehow seems to have caught, not only the style, but the mood which one associates with the metre in which it is composed.

Dr. Butler published nothing else relating to the Greek and Latin classics. But if style and finish be worthy objects of education, then he was undoubtedly a great educator. To speak of his striking and attractive personality, and of his varied activities, would be beyond the province of this Review.

## WILLIAM WALTER MERRY.

ON March 5 of this year died Dr. William Walter Merry, Rector of Lincoln College, and for nearly thirty years Public Orator in the University of Oxford: a scholar whose name will always be honourably associated with the classical learning of his University. Few in our days have done so much to facilitate and in the best sense to popularise the study of Greek and Latin. He was an editor of unwearying activity. The large edition of the first half of the *Odyssey*, begun by James Riddell of Balliol, and continued by his friend Dr. Merry, is likely to remain for a long time the standard English commentary: the Rector was responsible for three quarters of this volume, and entirely for the shorter or school editions of the whole twenty-four books. Like all his work, these are models of lucid and careful exposition. His editions of Aristophanes (*Acharnians*, *Clouds*, *Frogs*, *Knights*, *Birds*, *Wasps*, *Peace*) have been familiar to many generations of students. Their learning is not, nor is it intended to be, that of an Ellis or a Munro. But they are quite erudite enough, full of sound scholarship, and spiced with congenial humour—'learning put lightly, like powder in jam': exactly

what most readers of Aristophanes want. Dr. Merry also published *Selected Fragments of Roman Poetry* in 1891.

He was a good editor; but he was an ideal Public Orator. No one could be better equipped for the position. He was an effective public speaker; he had a fine presence, a lively humour, and a rich vocabulary of Latin. At Oxford, the Creweian Oration—dealing with the events of the academic year—is delivered at alternate Encaenia by the Public Orator and the Professor of Poetry. The Rector's Creweian Orations were always popular. They managed to combine the dignity proper to an academic exercise, with direct and unfailingly successful appeals to the gallery. Dr. Merry could turn the diction of Cicero to the topics of the day in such a way as to make it somehow quite intelligible to undergraduates who had little Latin, and ladies who had none. These orations have been collected and published. They are always entertaining, and very useful contributions to the history of the University. Learning and the amenities of scholarship suffer by the Rector's death.

#### MRS. SELLAR.

THE death of Mrs. Sellar, in a great and beautiful old age, took place on February 9 last, at the house which had been her home for more than half a century, and had during all that time been a meeting-place for the many classical scholars who had the privilege of her friendship. It should not pass unnoticed in a journal dedicated to the

support and study of the classics. No scholar herself—her own incursions into the classical languages were chiefly in the direction of making Latin puns—she had lived among scholars from her youth, and gave more than she received in that intercourse. For the survivors of many generations of Sellar's pupils, first at St. Andrews and then at Edinburgh, her memory is an undimmed brightness. Nor is it less precious among the dwindling remnants of the Oxford friends of long ago. The brilliant group of her husband's contemporaries has ceased to exist; but from them onward, a perpetual succession of younger scholars found a welcome in her home and a place in her heart. Her death removes almost the last link between the present generation and that mid-Victorian age in which, with all its defects or limitations, humane letters were a potent influence, and simplicity and purity of living were combined with high ideals. The scholars of that age took their rank less from profound investigation or original research than from elevation of character and distinction of personality. She stands beside them, as she lived among them, in virtue of qualities of her own no less remarkable than, in their conjunction, they are rare: ceaseless kindness and pungent wit, tender sympathy and unconquerable gaiety. She seemed, almost until the end, endowed with immortal youth.

Ὅκτ' ἐπ' ὀγδῶκοντα βιώσας ἐξετέλεσεν  
δὴβια σὺν μούσαις καὶ χαρίτεσσιν ἔτη·  
τοὺς ποτ' ἔθελε νέους εἰς γυμνάσιον ἔλθειν,  
νῦν δ' ἤβην αὐτῇ σώζει ὑποχθόνιος.

J. W. MACKAIL.

#### QUERIES

DODWELL, in his *Tour through Greece*, i. 36, mentions a tradition that Colchians settled in Corcyra in 1349 B.C. He quotes no authority. Is there any?

Were the Colchians and Minoans kin? According to Herodotus the former were of Egyptian extraction, and it is said there was in the Egyptians, as in the Minoans, an Armenoid strain. The Colchians also were no doubt Armenoid.

The most likely settlers from the East in Corcyra in late Minoan days

would be Minoans. Could they have been converted into Colchians through the influence of the Argonaut saga?

Mure's view that the Phaeacians were a real people is correct. He believed they were a colony of Φοίνικες, and Φοίνικες are to modern archaeologists the Minoans. Phaeacia is not in fairyland, nor is it the lost Atlantis. It is Corcyra, and Scheria is a Minoan settlement there. The proof will be published in detail.

A. SHEWAN.

St. Andrews, March 13, 1918.

## NOTES AND NEWS

## NORTHUMBERLAND AND DURHAM CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION.

THE two Spring meetings of the Northumberland and Durham Classical Association were held alternately in Durham and Newcastle. At the former, Canon Cruickshank's paper on 'The Problem of Euripides' *Bacchae*' led to an interesting discussion, taken part in by Dr. Dawson Walker, who was in the chair, Miss E. F. Stevenson (Newcastle), Miss A. M. Ashley (Darlington), Mr. E. P. Pestle, Professor How, and Dr. J. Wight Duff. After the statutory business of the sixth general meeting of the branch, held on March 23 at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Mr. R. Bousfield

(Bishop Auckland) gave an account of excavations which had been conducted from time to time at the Roman station of Binchester (Vinovia), and exhibited an admirable set of large coloured plans in illustration of the site as a whole, as well as of the buildings, bathing-tanks, and hypocausts. Copies of the chief inscriptions recovered in the nineteenth century at Vinovia were also shown. Dr. J. Wight Duff, who presided, recalled details of the archaeological visit paid by the society to Binchester in 1914.

## CORRESPONDENCE

To the Editors of THE CLASSICAL REVIEW.

I HAVE read with much interest the article by Mr. Shewan on Πολύχρυσος Μυκήνη in your last number, and will try to profit by his arguments. But unfortunately I must begin by knocking away the foundation on which they all rest, and thereby depriving him of his fancied triumph over me. Mr. Shewan seems to think that the new Mycenaean site found by the Americans is at Corinth. He is misinformed. It is not at Corinth.

I said in *Homer and History* (p. 217) that Ephyre—the name which we must give to the new site—was the nearest town in the Sikyonian territory, and a few miles away from Corinth. The new site is in fact a few miles from Corinth, in the direction of Sikyon. It lies on the coast of the Gulf, somewhere near Lechaion. No Mycenaean remains have been found at Corinth to confute me. Any 'value of my essay on Agamemnon's realm' is not greatly reduced, but greatly strengthened by this confirmation of my assertion that the Mycenaean Ephyre was not at Corinth, but a few miles away. My prophecy may have been a foolish gamble; but it has the merit of fulfilment.

The information about the site of the Mycenaean Ephyre I owe to Mr. Wace. I wish it were more detailed; but letters to Athens were very uncertain when I wrote on the subject three years ago, and either my enquiry for further particulars or his reply to it must have gone astray; and we are all too busy on more urgent matters to spend much time on such things. But it is possible that one part of what I have said may have to be modified. With all reserve, and even open scepticism, I thought that there might be something in what Strabo said about an 'Ephyre on the Selleis' in Sikyonian territory. Now I cannot ascertain that the new site is on any stream; if it is not,

then what Strabo says as to this particular Ephyre may have to go with the other fables he talks about the name of Ephyre (*Homer and History*, 178). This of course affects him, and not me. My argument is only based on the fact that there never was a Mycenaean settlement at Corinth; the negative evidence is now confirmed by our knowledge of the place where the settlement was. It was on the northern coast, and therefore unsuited to fulfil the conditions which placed an important town where Corinth stood. To all appearance it was dependent on Sikyon.

Yours faithfully,  
WALTER LEAF.

To the Editors of THE CLASSICAL REVIEW.

I CANNOT but be happy over the generous praise bestowed upon *Plotinus: The Ethical Treatises*, in *Class. Rev.* February-March, 1918.

I ask permission, however—for the few who may be interested in the interpretation of Plotinus—to touch very briefly on the friendly reviewer's animadversions. I take them seriatim:

1. 'Complement' is a misprint for 'couplement.'

2. The *παύ* in the context is not necessary, nor any English equivalent; but, with Mueller and Kieffer, I take it as strengthening *ὄν*.

3. The steps, I find, by which the form of my version developed were: (a) 'Anyone that allows the *soul* to be the user (of the body) separates it.' (b, etc.) 'If the *soul* is (allowed) to use the body, it is separate.' In the context I take that twist and condensation to be quite laudable.

4. It was only after long search that I discovered the reviewer's implication, if I grasp it yet. My first rough draft (to which the final adheres in entire content) was: 'We must

make over the common affections (or the affections of the complement) to the body—that is, to the part appropriate to such affections—the material ("physical") element.' Mueller and Kiefer differ, but not on the point in question.

5. The omission of *ὀρπαυὸς* was a pure oversight, induced, I imagine, by the fact that the context shows clearly the celestial nature of the 'body' concerned.

STEPHEN MACKENNA.

ERRATUM.—P. 47 (a) line 14: for 'hopeful' read 'helpful.'

## BOOKS RECEIVED

All publications which have a bearing on Classical Studies will be entered in this list if they are sent for review. The price should in all cases be stated.

\* \* Excerpts or Extracts from Periodicals and Collections will not be included unless they are also published separately.

- Agno** (F.) *Periculum criticum Ovidianum: Heroidum loci aliquot emendati, explanati, tentati.* 9½" × 6¾". Pp. 22. Pavia, Tipografia e legatoria co-operativa, 1918.
- Amatucci** (A. G.) *Storia della Letteratura Romana.* In two vols.: I. Dalle Origini all' Età Ciceroniana, pp. xii + 244. II. Da Augusto al Sec. V., pp. viii + 206. 8¼" × 5½". Napoli: Francesco Perrella, 1916. L. 2 per volume.
- Armstrong** (M. E.) *The Significance of Certain Colours in Roman Ritual (Dissertation for Doctorate).* 9¼" × 6¼". Pp. 52. The Collegiate Press, Menasha, Wisconsin, 1917.
- Boëthius** (Axel.) *Die Pythais: Studien zur Geschichte der Verbindungen zwischen Athen und Delphi (Inaugural Dissertation).* 9½" × 6½". Pp. 172. Upsala: Almqvist und Wicksell, 1918.
- Box** (G. H.) *The Apocalypse of Abraham and the Ascension of Elijah (Translation of Early Documents).* 7½" × 5". Pp. xxxiv + 65 and xxvi + 36. London: S.P.C.K., 1918. Cloth, 4s. 6d. net.
- Cambridge** (Historical Register of the University to the Year 1910). Edited by J. R. Tanner. 7¾" × 5". Pp. xii + 1186. Cambridge University Press, 1917. Cloth, 12s. 6d. net.
- Ciceronis Orationes** (Pro Milone, Caesarianae, Philippicae). *Bibliotheca Oxoniensis.* By A. C. Clark. Second edition. 8" × 5½". Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1918. Paper, 3s.; cloth, 3s. 6d.
- Cudworth** (W. H.) *The Odes of Horace, Englished into Rimed Verse corresponding to the Original Meters.* 7¼" × 4¾". Pp. xv + 161. New York: A. A. Knopf, 1918. Cloth, \$1.50 net.
- De Sanctis** (G.) and **Pareti** (L.) *Contributi alla Scienza dell' Antichità: Vol. II., Storia di Sparta Arcaica. Parte I.* 10" × 7". Pp. iv + 276. Firenze, Libreria Internazionale, 1917. L. 10.
- Eitrem** (S.) *Beiträge zur griechischen Religionsgeschichte: II. Kathartisches und Rituelles.* 10½" × 7". Pp. 50. Kristiania: Jacob Dybwad, 1917.
- Fitzhugh** (Thomas.) *The Indo-European Superstress and the Evolution of Verse.* University of Virginia, Bulletin of the School of Latin, No. 9. 9" × 6½". Pp. 114. Anderson Brothers, Charlottesville, Va. \$2.50.
- Gardner** (P.) *A History of Ancient Coinage, 700–300 B.C.* 9" × 6". Pp. xvi + 464, with 11 plates. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1918. Cloth, 18s. net.
- James** (M. R.) *The Biblical Antiquities of Philo (Translations of Early Documents).* 7¼" × 5". Pp. vi + 280. London: S.P.C.K., 1917. Cloth, 8s. 6d. net.
- Jastrow** (M.) *The War and the Bagdad Railways.* 7¾" × 5½". Pp. 160, with 14 illustrations and a map. London: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1917. Cloth, 6s. net.
- McLemore** (J. S.) *The Tradition of the Latin Accent (a Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the University of Virginia, 1917).* 10¼" × 7". Pp. 96. University of Virginia.
- Missions Scientifiques* (Nouvelles Archives). Tome XXII. Fasc. 1. 9¼" × 6½". Pp. 131, with 6 plates. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1917.
- Modern Hebrew Literature.** 8½" × 5½". Pp. 20. London: Jewish Chronicle. 9d.
- More** (P. E.) *Platonism (Lectures delivered at Princeton University).* 8½" × 5½". Pp. xii + 308. Oxford University Press (for Princeton Press), 1918. Cloth, 7s. 6d. net.
- Plutarch's Select Essays* (Vol. II.) Translated by A. O. Prickard. 7" × 4¾". Pp. xix + 336. Oxford University Press, 1918. Cloth, 3s. 6d. net.
- Schütte** (G.) *Ptolemy's Maps of Northern Europe: A Reconstruction of the Prototypes.* 10½" × 7". Pp. xvi + 150, with 32 maps. Copenhagen: H. Hagerup, 1917.
- Stawell** (F. M.) *The Price of Freedom: An Anthology. Illustrated.* 6½" × 4¾". Pp. 168. London: Headley Brothers, 1918. Paper boards, 3s. 6d.
- Thackeray** (H. St. J.) *The Letters of Aristaeas (Translations of Early Documents).* 7½" × 5". Pp. xx + 116. London: S.P.C.K., 1917. Cloth, 2s. 6d. net.
- Value of the Classics: Addresses at Conference on Classical Studies at Princeton University, 1917.* 8½" × 5½". Pp. viii + 396. Oxford University Press (for Princeton Press), 1918. Half cloth, 6s. 6d. net.
- Wassilevsky** (J.) *Chassidism: A Résumé of Modern Hebrew Mysticism.* 8½" × 5½". Pp. 31. Blackburn: Toulmin and Sons. 1s.



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